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THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA

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THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA

BACKGROUND

The United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) is the first United Nations peace-keeping mission undertaken in cooperation with a peace-keeping operation already set up by another organization. Established in September 1993 by the Security Council, UNOMIL works with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)[1/], a subregional organization, in assisting the Liberians to establish peace in the country.

The civil war in Liberia broke out in 1990, when the government headed by President Samuel Doe was overthrown, causing a complete breakdown of law and order in the country. The war claimed the lives of between 100,000 and 150,000 civilians, and displaced scores of others both internally and beyond the borders, resulting in some 700,000 refugees in the neighbouring countries. Liberia was divided, with the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), headed by President Amos Sawyer, administering Monrovia, the country's capital, and its environs; the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Mr. Charles Taylor, controlling the majority of the country; and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), led by Mr. Alhaji Kromah, having taken control of the remaining areas.

Since the outset of the conflict, ECOWAS has taken various initiatives aimed at a peaceful settlement. These included creating a Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) in August 1990, and mediating a series of agreements which became the basis for the peace plan of November 1990. On 30 October 1991, ECOWAS brokered the Yamoussoukro IV Accord which outlined steps to implement the peace plan, including the encampment and disarmament of warring factions under the supervision of an expanded ECOMOG, as well as the establishment of transitional institutions to carry out free and fair elections.

The United Nations, from the beginning of the conflict, has supported the efforts of the ECOWAS member States. In addition, it has provided humanitarian assistance to the affected areas through coordinated activities of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Population Fund (UNPF), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Food Programme (WFP) and the World Health Organization (WHO).

The United Nations Special Coordinator's Office (UNSCOL) opened in December 1990; its operation, initially focusing on the desperate situation in the Monrovia area, was expanded in 1991 to respond to the needs of Liberians throughout the country. Regional arrangements were also made to assist those who fled to the neighbouring countries, mainly Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone.

UNITED NATIONS ACTIONS ON LIBERIA

The Security Council first took up the question of Liberia on 22 January 1991, when the President of the Council made a statement commending the efforts of the heads of State of ECOWAS and called upon the parties to the conflict to respect the cease-fire agreement. On 7 May 1992, the Council again commended ECOWAS and indicated that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord offered the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Liberia.

On 19 November 1992, the Security Council, by adopting resolution 788 (1992), imposed a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia — except for those

destined for the sole use of the peace-keeping forces of ECOWAS. The Council also called on the Member States of the United Nations to exert self-restraint in their relations with all parties to the conflict in Liberia, and to refrain from taking any action that would be inimical to the peace process. Further, it requested the Secretary-General to dispatch urgently a special representative to Liberia who would evaluate the situation and make recommendations as soon as possible.

On 20 November 1992, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Trevor Livingston Gordon-Somers, a national of Jamaica, as his Special Representative for Liberia. Following his appointment, the Special Representative visited Liberia as well as Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone.

On 12 March 1993, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that the discussions his Special Representative had held with the parties concerned, including the Executive Secretary and member States of ECOWAS, indicated the existence of general consensus that the United Nations should assume a larger role in the search for peace in Liberia. Reaffirming his commitment to a "systematic cooperation between the United Nations and a regional organization, as envisaged in Chapter VIII of the Charter" and stating his intention to continue working with ECOWAS in the peace process, the Secretary-General outlined three areas in which the United Nations could play a role in Liberia: political reconciliation, humanitarian assistance and electoral assistance.

Further, the Secretary-General proposed that ECOWAS convene a meeting at the summit level where the President of the Interim Government and the warring factions in Liberia would conclude and sign an agreement, reaffirming their commitment to promptly implementing the peace process as envisaged in the Yamoussoukro IV Accord.

On 26 March, the Security Council, by resolution 813 (1993), requested the Secretary-General to consider the possibility of convening a meeting of the Liberian parties to reaffirm their commitment to the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, and also to discuss with ECOWAS and the parties concerned the contribution which the United Nations could make in support of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, including the deployment of United Nations observers.

MASSACRE OF CIVILIANS

On the morning of 6 June 1993, nearly 600 Liberians, mainly displaced men, women, children and the elderly, were killed in an armed attack near Harbel, Liberia. In response, the Security Council strongly condemned the killings and warned that those responsible would be held accountable for the serious violations of international humanitarian law, and requested the Secretary-General to commence immediately an investigation into the massacre.

After a preliminary investigation by his Special Representative, the Secretary-General, on 7 August, appointed a Panel of Inquiry composed of Mr. Amos Wako of Kenya as Chairman, and Mr. Robert Gersony of the United States and Mr. Mahmoud Kassem of Egypt as members, to undertake a more comprehensive investigation. In a report dated 10 September 1993, the Panel concluded that the killings were planned and executed by units of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and that NPFL, to which the act of violence had initially been attributed, had no role in it. The Panel named three AFL soldiers who had participated in the massacre, and recommended that criminal investigations be undertaken with a view to prosecuting them. The Panel added, however, that this finding did not mitigate or diminish the responsibility of NPFL, ULIMO and others alleged to have engaged in similar atrocities against unarmed, innocent civilians throughout the conflict. It further recommended investigations into a number of major atrocities attributed to all parties to the Liberian conflict.

PEACE ACCORD IS REACHED

On 25 July 1993, after a three-day meeting held in Cotonou, Benin, under the co-chairmanship of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, President Canaan Banana of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Mr. Abass Bundu, Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, the parties to the conflict in Liberia signed the Cotonou Peace Agreement. The Agreement laid out a continuum of action, from the cease-fire through disarmament and demobilization to the holding of national elections.

On military aspects, the Agreement provided for a cease-fire to take effect on 1 August 1993, and outlined steps for the encampment, disarmament and demobilization of military units. To ensure against any violation of the cease-fire between 1 August and the arrival of the additional ECOMOG troops as well as the main body of a United Nations observer contingent, the parties agreed to establish a Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee, comprising representatives of the three Liberian sides, ECOMOG and the United Nations. For that period, the United Nations was asked to consider dispatching 30 advance military observers to participate in the work of the Committee.

On the political side, the parties reaffirmed the Yamoussoukro IV Accord. They agreed that there should be a single Liberian National Transitional Government which would have three branches: legislative, executive and judicial. The Agreement also provided for general and presidential elections to take place within seven months from the signing of the Agreement, and set out the modalities for the elections to be supervised by a reconstituted Electoral Commission.

On humanitarian issues, the parties agreed that every effort should be made to deliver humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia using the most direct routes, and under inspection to ensure compliance with the embargo provisions of the Agreement. The United Nations, in particular the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), was requested to facilitate the speedy return of refugees and their reintegration into their communities.

In his 4 August 1993 report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General, while recognizing the difficulties ahead, welcomed the Agreement as offering the "hope that the violent and destructive civil war which has afflicted Liberia may at long last be brought to an end." On 10 August, the Security Council, by resolution 856 (1993), authorized the Secretary-General to dispatch an advance team of 30 United Nations military observers to Liberia.

UNOMIL IS ESTABLISHED

On 22 September 1993, the Security Council, by resolution 866 (1993), established the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) for an initial period of seven months. UNOMIL was to work with ECOMOG in the implementation of the Cotonou Peace Agreement.

STRUCTURE OF UNOMIL

As in the case of all United Nations peace-keeping operations, UNOMIL is under the command of the United Nations, vested in the Secretary-General under the authority of the Security Council. It is led in the field by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and is composed of military and civilian components. Command of the military component is entrusted to the Chief Military Observer reporting to the Secretary-General through the Special Representative.

The civilian component includes humanitarian assistance and electoral assistance, as well as the necessary political and administrative staff. The deployment plan calls for the Mission to operate out of its headquarters in Monrovia, as well as four regional headquarters, co-located with ECOMOG's four sector headquarters, in the eastern, northern and western regions and Greater Monrovia.

RELATIONSHIP WITH ECOMOG

UNOMIL and ECOMOG work closely together in facilitating the implementation of the military aspects of the Cotonou Peace Agreement. In accordance with the Agreement, ECOMOG has primary responsibility for ensuring the implementation of the Agreement's provisions, and UNOMIL's role is to monitor the implementation procedures in order to verify their impartial application. While UNOMIL and ECOMOG have separate chains of command, the missions consult formally, through the established committees, as well as informally, on matters affecting them both.

Under Security Council resolution 866 (1993), UNOMIL's mandate includes, in addition to military aspects, assistance in the coordination of humanitarian activities, observation and verification of elections, and reporting on any major violations of humanitarian law. UNOMIL keeps ECOMOG informed, as necessary, of the activities it undertakes in pursuance of these aspects of its mandate.

Citing that the cooperation of ECOMOG was critical to UNOMIL's success, the Secretary-General warned that the failure to deploy additional ECOMOG troops or their premature withdrawal would gravely jeopardize the peace process. "In such an event," he declared, "I shall immediately bring the situation to the attention of the Security Council; depending on the prevalent circumstances, I might be obliged to recommend the withdrawal of UNOMIL." The Secretary-General, in his 9 September 1993 report to the Security Council, announced his intention to conclude with ECOWAS a formal agreement defining the relationship between UNOMIL and ECOMOG. Such an agreement was concluded in November 1993.

UNOMIL MILITARY COMPONENT

The military component of UNOMIL is to monitor and verify compliance with the cease-fire, the embargo on delivery of arms and military equipment, as well as the cantonment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants.

As a way of providing ECOMOG with sufficient means to ensure the implementation of the Agreement, and with the support of the Security Council, the Secretary-General established a trust fund, under the auspices of the United Nations, that can be utilized to enable African countries to send reinforcements to ECOMOG, to provide necessary assistance to countries already participating in ECOMOG, and for humanitarian assistance, elections and demobilization.

UNOMIL CIVILIAN COMPONENT

The civilian component is to include political, humanitarian, and electoral personnel. The humanitarian assistance element works closely with UNDP, the United Nations specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in assisting in the coordination of relief activities and facilitating the return of refugees, the resettlement of displaced persons and the reintegration of ex-combatants.

The electoral assistance element will observe and verify the entire election process, from the registration of voters until the voting itself. The work is to be carried out by 13 Professionals, 40 United Nations Volunteers and necessary support staff. The Liberian National Transitional Government, through the Liberian Elections Commission consisting of representatives of the three Liberian parties, is to be responsible for organizing and holding elections, which were originally scheduled for February/March 1994. Several potential bottlenecks to the holding of elections were foreseen, including operationalizing the Electoral Commission, repatriating refugees, settling internally displaced population, and completing demobilization. Expressing concern over whether the electoral process could be completed in time, the Secretary-General, in his September 1993 report to the Security Council, called on the Liberian parties to cooperate fully with ECOMOG and UNOMIL, and to work together in a spirit of national

reconciliation. "Only under these conditions," he added, "will it be possible to hold the elections on schedule in February/March 1994, and to enable the people of Liberia to begin the arduous task of rebuilding their ravaged country and to look forward to a future of peace, stability and well-being."

DELAYS IN IMPLEMENTATION

In establishing UNOMIL the Security Council stipulated that the mission would continue beyond 16 December 1993 only upon a review by the Council based on a report from the Secretary-General on whether or not substantive progress had been made towards the implementation of the Peace Agreement and other measures at establishing a lasting peace.

The Secretary-General reported to the Council on 13 December 1993. He noted that on 17 August 1993, following consultations between the Liberian parties, the five members of the Council of State had been selected. The swearing in of the Council, however, did not take place as it was awaiting the beginning of disarmament, the start of which, in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement, was dependent on the expansion of ECOMOG and the parties providing necessary information on the number and location of their combatants, weapons and mines.

The Chairman of ECOWAS, President Nicéphore Dieudonné Soglo of Benin, arranged for consultations among the parties at a meeting in Cotonou from 3 to 5 November 1993. At this meeting the parties agreed on the distribution between them of 13 of a total of 17 cabinet posts. The distribution of the remaining 4 ministerial portfolios, as well as other issues related to the installation of the Transitional Government would await further talks. The parties also reached agreement on the composition of the Elections Commission, on the Speaker of the Legislature and the members of the Supreme Court.

As to the deployment of UNOMIL, the Secretary-General reported that following the adoption of Security Council resolution 856 (1993) on 10 August 1993, the advance party of military observers began arriving in Liberia. The Chief Military Observer arrived in the country on 10 October 1993 and by mid-December there were 166 UNOMIL military observers. UNOMIL was fully deployed by the end of December.

In accordance with the Peace Agreement, a Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee, composed of representatives of the Liberian parties and ECOMOG and chaired by the United Nations, was established. Its function was to monitor, investigate and report all cease-fire violations between the period of its coming into force on 1 August 1993 and the arrival of the additional ECOMOG troops and the full contingent of UNOMIL. In addition to regular patrolling and cease-fire monitoring through the Joint Committee, UNOMIL military observers were conducting reconnaissance missions in cooperation with ECOMOG in many areas of the country in preparation for their deployment to these areas and in preparation for disarmament and demobilization.

Throughout the negotiations leading to the Cotonou Agreement in July 1993, the expansion of ECOMOG was viewed as a crucial prerequisite for progress towards a lasting peace in Liberia. On 30 September 1993, the United States pledged $19.83 million to the Trust Fund, exclusively to meet the cost of deployment, equipment and maintenance needs of the expanded ECOMOG troops. On the basis of consultations with potential troop contributing countries and discussions with ECOMOG, and in accordance with the terms of reference of the Trust Fund, a budget estimate covering the requirements of the expanded ECOMOG battalions was developed.

The Secretary-General informed the Security Council that planning and preparation for disarmament and demobilization which had been undertaken by UNOMIL in consultation with the Liberian parties, ECOMOG, United Nations specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations, was well under way.

In accordance with the Peace Agreement, the commencement of actual disarmament was linked to the expansion of ECOMOG which had been delayed. The Secretary-General hoped that the additional ECOMOG troops would soon be deployed to Liberia, thus enabling the disarmament and demobilization to start immediately.

On the question of general and presidential elections, the Secretary-General reported that the United Nations and the International Foundation for Election System had undertaken a joint mission to Liberia in October 1993 to assess the requirements for holding elections and to evaluate the probability of maintaining the timetable set out in the Peace Agreement. The mission concluded that this timetable, which provided for holding elections in February/March 1994, was optimistic but that elections could possibly be held in May 1994, on the assumption that disarmament and demobilization, installation of the Transitional Government and unification of the country were achieved "expeditiously".

In concluding his 13 December 1993 report, the Secretary-General noted that from the beginning of the peace process in Liberia, all parties had been aware that the timetable, which called for disarmament to begin within 30 days of signature of the Agreement, concomitant with the establishment of the Transitional Government, was "highly ambitious, especially given the complexities in establishing the joint UNOMIL/ECOMOG peace-keeping mission, including the deployment of additional ECOMOG troops". In spite of delays in the implementation of the Agreement, there were no major violations of the cease-fire and the Liberian parties displayed a willingness to move the peace process forward. The Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council agree that UNOMIL should continue to implement the mandate entrusted to it under resolution 866 (1993). However, he indicated that it was unlikely that the original timetable for elections would be met.

In a letter dated 16 December 1993 from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General, the members of the Council took note of the Secretary-General's report and informed him that they shared his expectation that, despite the unavoidable delays, disarmament would begin presently, the Transitional Government would soon be installed and the elections would be held in the first half of 1994. The Council looked forward to the Secretary-General's next report on or before 16 February 1994.

INTER-AGENCY APPEAL

On 16 December 1993, the United Nations launched a Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for $284 million for emergency humanitarian assistance to Liberia covering a broad spectrum of activities to facilitate Liberia's transition from a war-torn nation to a peaceful and democratic State. United Nations agencies had identified priority needs, amounting to $96.41 million through the first quarter of 1994. The total appeal for $284 million was for 13 months, through December 1994.[2/]

In the Appeal, WFP had estimated that 65,000 tons of food would be needed to meet emergency requirements through March 1994 at a cost of approximately $34 million. This covered a beneficiary population of 1.5 million in Liberia. For health and medical care, WHO would require some $6.4 million. UNICEF had identified priority programmes costing $17 million. UNHCR had made an appeal for over $60 million for the voluntary repatriation of some 700,000 Liberian refugees. FAO would need $8.8 million and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlement (HABITAT) would require $3.5 million.

DIFFICULTIES REMAIN

In December 1993, the Liberian parties resumed their talks on the composition of the Transitional Government. After two weeks of intense negotiations, however, they

failed to reach agreement on the disposition of the four remaining ministerial portfolios, i.e. Defence, Foreign Affairs, Justice and Finance. They were also unable to agree on the date for the seating of the Transitional Government and for the beginning of encampment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants.

UNOMIL attained its total authorized strength in early January 1994 and began deployment of its military observers throughout Liberia. As to the expansion of ECOMOG, the battalions from the United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda arrived in Monrovia on 8 January and 28 January 1994 respectively and started preparations for deployment to the northern and eastern regions of the country.

In a letter dated 18 January 1994, the President of the Security Council expressed the concern of the Council that the Transitional Government had not yet been installed, disarmament had not yet commenced, the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement was thus being delayed and efforts to deliver humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country had met with difficulties. He further noted that the continued support of the international community for the efforts of UNOMIL would depend on the full and prompt implementation by the parties of the Agreement.

The Secretary-General's Special Representative held bilateral consultations with each of the three Liberian parties and relayed to them the message of the Security Council, namely that the Council expected to see tangible progress in the peace process. The parties reiterated their willingness to cooperate in the effective implementation of the Peace Agreement.

Following the arrival of the additional battalions, consultations with ECOMOG and the parties on the date for disarmament intensified. Ten encampment sites were identified, two for the Armed Forces of Liberia, four for NPFL/NPRAG and another four for ULIMO. The parties agreed that the disarmament of their forces would commence simultaneously and was likely to continue over a two-to-three-month period. At the same time, UNOMIL had developed a plan for the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian society, covering the continuum from military disarmament to reintegration into civilian society and involving the coordination of activities to be implemented by United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations.

In his report to the Security Council on 14 February 1994, the Secretary-General stated that the impasse in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement had resulted from differing views among the parties on the date for the installation of the Transitional Government and the commencement of disarmament. He believed, however, that the remaining outstanding issues impeding the implementation were not insurmountable. The Secretary-General therefore urged the Liberian parties to make a renewed and determined effort to reach consensus and cooperate in good faith with UNOMIL and ECOMOG. He also urged the international community to contribute the necessary logistical and financial resources to both the existing and expanded ECOMOG troops in order to enable it to meet its obligations under the Cotonou Agreement. In order to enable United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide humanitarian assistance to all areas of the country, the Secretary-General called upon the parties to create the necessary conditions to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of Liberia.

TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT INSTALLED

On 23 February 1994, the Secretary-General reported that the Liberian parties, at a meeting held at Monrovia on 15 February, "reached agreement on most of the outstanding issues which had impeded the commencement of disarmament and the installation of the Transitional Government ... It was also agreed that free and fair elections would be held on 7 September 1994".

Although the question of the disposition of the four remaining Cabinet posts was not resolved at that

meeting, the parties agreed that disarmament would commence on 7 March 1994 and that installation of the Transitional Government would take place on the same day.

On 25 February 1994, the Security Council, in a statement by its President, welcomed the agreement and urged the parties to demonstrate maximum flexibility and spare no effort to resolve quickly their differences on the disposition of the Cabinet posts. Having expressed concern at the delays in implementing the commitments entered into by the parties under the Cotonou Agreement, the Council said that the support of the international community would not continue in the absence of tangible progress towards full and prompt implementation of the Agreement, in particular, the revised timetable.

On 8 March 1994, the Permanent Representative of Liberia to the United Nations informed the Secretary-General that the Council of State of the Transitional Government had been installed in Monrovia on 7 March 1994. Three demobilization centres were opened on the same day. On 11 March, the Transitional Legislative Assembly was inducted into office, with ULIMO being given the responsibility for naming the Speaker of the Assembly. The Supreme Court of Liberia opened for the 1994 term on 14 March.

In his 7 March acceptance speech, the Chairman of the Council of the State confirmed that the holding of elections on 7 September 1994 was a foremost concern of the Transitional Government. The Elections Commission had intensified its organizational work in order to finalize a calendar of activities leading up to the elections and submitted a draft electoral budget to the Council of State for its consideration. It estimated that $13.7 million would be required for the electoral process, of which the Transitional Government would attempt to provide some $8.5 million and would seek international support for the remaining $5.2 million.

DEPLOYMENT OF UNOMIL AND ECOMOG

Meanwhile, UNOMIL proceeded with deployment throughout the country. By April 1994, the Mission had deployed its military observers in 27 team sites out of a total of 39 projected sites. Four regional headquarters were established at Monrovia (central region), Tubmanburg (western region), Gbarnga (northern region) and Tapeta (eastern region). The military observers were engaged in the patrolling of border crossings and other entry points, observation and verification of disarmament and demobilization and the investigation of cease-fire violations.

ECOMOG deployed into the western (Tubmanburg) and northern (Gbarnga) regions. Deployment of both UNOMIL and ECOMOG in Upper Lofa was impeded by insecurity in the area. Likewise, deployment in the south-east was curtailed by the activities of the Liberian Peace Council (LPC), which emerged in the south-eastern part of Liberia after the Cotonou Agreement was signed in July 1993. UNOMIL and ECOMOG were engaged in consultations with ULIMO and with the NPFL and LPC in order to reach agreement on further deployment in the western and south-eastern regions.

Three demobilization centres, one for each of the warring parties, were opened on 7 March 1994. It was reported that the total number of combatants of all factions was approximately 60,000 soldiers. In the first month of disarmament, more than 2,000 combatants, from all parties, were disarmed and demobilized. Owing to political difficulties, however, disarmament was slower than anticipated. Assuming the full cooperation of the parties, it was estimated that disarmament could be completed in two months.

Following the deployment of UNOMIL and ECOMOG, the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee was replaced by a Violations Committee, chaired by the UNOMIL Chief Military Observer. The Committee is the body through which UNOMIL and ECOMOG address issues of cease-fire violations with the parties.

SOME PROGRESS ACHIEVED

In his 18 April 1994 progress report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General noted that the Liberian parties had achieved progress in their search for peace with the installation of the Council of State and the start of disarmament, and the agreement to hold free and fair elections on 7 September 1994.

However, a number of obstacles impeding the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement still existed, including the disposition of the four remaining Cabinet posts, the question of allocation of posts to head the public corporations and autonomous agencies, continued military conflict involving various parties, and the slow pace of the disarmament and demobilization process. A number of issues in the electoral process were also left to be addressed, including voter education, the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons and the mobilization of resources required for the elections.

The Secretary-General urged the parties to make concerted efforts and to cooperate with one another in order to overcome the remaining impediments to the full installation of the Transitional Government. At the same time, taking into account the progress made thus far in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement, he recommended that the Security Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for a further period of six months, which would include the elections scheduled for September 1994. Provision would also be made for the liquidation phase of the Mission, which would end by 31 December 1994. The Secretary-General stated, however, that if the disposition of the four remaining ministries was not resolved within two weeks, and if there was no further progress in the peace process within this period, he would request the Council to review the mandate of UNOMIL.

INSTALLATION OF GOVERNMENT URGED

The Security Council met to consider the Secretary-General's progress report on 21 April 1994. At the meeting, the representative of Liberia informed the Council that on 19 April 1994 the Ministers of Defence, Finance and Justice had been designated and that the Minister for Foreign Affairs would be appointed soon.

By its resolution 911 (1994), the Council extended the mandate of UNOMIL until 22 October 1994, on the understanding that it would review by 18 May 1994 the situation in Liberia and UNOMIL's role there. That review would be based on whether the Transitional Government had been fully installed, and whether there had been substantial progress in implementing the peace process. The Council decided to conduct a further review by 30 June 1994. That review would focus on the effective operation of the Transitional Government, progress in disarmament and demobilization, and preparations for the holding of elections on 7 September.

The Security Council called on the Liberian parties to give urgent priority to the complete installation, by 18 May 1994, of the Transitional Government, especially the seating of the full Cabinet and the Transitional National Assembly, so that a unified civil administration of the country could be established and appropriate arrangements completed for national elections to be held on 7 September.

By other terms of the resolution, the Council urged the parties to cease hostilities immediately and cooperate with ECOMOG to complete the disarmament process. It also encouraged Member States to contribute to the Trust Fund for the Implementation of the Cotonou Agreement or to provide other assistance to facilitate the work of ECOMOG, and to assist in humanitarian, development and electoral assistance. The Council called once again on the Liberian parties to cooperate fully in the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country in accordance with the Cotonou Peace Agreement.

CONTINUED FIGHTING

On 18 May, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that the Council of State of the Liberian

Transitional Government had been fully installed, and that the Ministers for Justice, Defence and Finance had been confirmed by the Transitional Legislative Assembly on 20 April, with the newly appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs scheduled to be formally inducted on 19 May.

At the same time, the Secretary-General noted that a dispute had arisen within the leadership of ULIMO, along ethnic lines, between Chairman Alhaji Kromah (Mandingo) and General Roosevelt Johnson (Krahn) over ULIMO nominees to the Council of State. The dispute had resulted in an outbreak of fighting in the western region among the ULIMO forces. He also pointed to fighting that had erupted in the eastern part of Liberia between NPFL and LPC, and to the efforts of the Transitional Government, UNOMIL and ECOMOG to bring about a cease-fire between the two groups and to bring LPC into the disarmament and demobilization process.

On 23 May, the Security Council, in a Presidential statement, called upon the parties to resolve their differences within the forum of the Transitional Government and the Cotonou Agreement, to end any hostilities and to accelerate the pace of disarmament. The Council reminded the parties of the importance it attached to the holding of elections on 7 September 1994 and reaffirmed its intention to review the situation in Liberia before 30 June.

SECRETARY-GENERAL REVIEWS SITUATION

The Secretary-General submitted his next report to the Security Council on 24 June. He stated that the continuing fighting within and between the parties constituted one of the most serious obstacles in the way of the peace process. Mediation efforts to resolve the dispute within ULIMO resulted, on 6 May, in a cease-fire and an agreement for further negotiations. However, the negotiations collapsed and serious fighting resumed on 26 May. In the eastern part of Liberia, attacks by LPC against NPFL also continued. All attempts to negotiate the end of hostilities were unsuccessful.

Moreover, the Secretary-General continued, the parties' mistrust for one another had, in the case of some parties, extended to ECOMOG. Soldiers of the Nigerian and Ugandan contingents were abducted and held for varying lengths of time by Mandingo elements of ULIMO and LPC, both of which claiming that ECOMOG had lost its impartiality and became involved in the conflict. NPFL also asserted complicity between some elements of ECOMOG and AFL in supplying material and logistical support to LPC. All these assertions added complexity to ECOMOG's performance of its peace-keeping role.

As a result of mistrust and hostilities between and within some factions, and despite the efforts of ECOMOG and UNOMIL, the parties had refused to engage actively in the disarmament of their combatants or to give up control of territory; three months after the start of demobilization, a total of only 3,192 combatants had been demobilized (ULIMO, 739; NPFL, 731; AFL, 685). Insecurity in some areas of the country had also impeded full deployment of ECOMOG and UNOMIL throughout Liberia.

As to the humanitarian situation, the Secretary-General reported that of an estimated 1.5 million people in need, approximately 1.1 million were receiving humanitarian assistance. Approximately 400,000 people were inaccessible because of factional fighting. Of the total number of beneficiaries, 800,000 were registered as displaced, of whom 150,000 had been displaced within the last six months. For 1994, 70 per cent of the estimated food needs had been mobilized by the international relief community.

Organized voluntary repatriation of the 700,000 Liberian refugees had also been affected by the slow pace in the peace process. However, UNHCR continued to facilitate the spontaneous repatriation. An average of 1,000 persons were returning every month from Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone.

In concluding the report, the Secretary-General reiterated that the basis for the establishment and

maintenance of lasting peace and stability in Liberia was the faithful implementation of the Cotonou Agreement. He continued to believe that UNOMIL's mandate was relevant to the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and to assisting the Liberian National Transitional Government and the Liberian people to achieve national reconciliation.

The Secretary-General stated it was imperative that all the Liberian parties extend greater cooperation to ECOMOG and UNOMIL in order to move the peace process forward. It was also essential that the Transitional Government bring all the parties together to agree on specific steps that must be taken to ensure that the elections were held on schedule. Should the parties fail to maintain their commitment to the peace process, the Secretary-General warned, he would have no alternative but to recommend to the Security Council that the involvement of the United Nations in Liberia be reconsidered.

On 13 July, the Security Council, in a Presidential statement, noted with concern that preparations for national elections were hampered by the continued fighting and the consequent virtual halt of the disarmament process. The Council called on the Liberian National Transitional Government, in cooperation with ECOWAS and OAU with the support of UNOMIL, to convene a meeting of the Liberian factions not later than 31 July in order to agree on a realistic plan for resumption of disarmament and to set a target date for its completion. The Council also requested the Secretary-General to report by 2 September on the results of such a disarmament meeting.

FACT-FINDING MISSION DISPATCHED

In his 26 August report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General stated that the Transitional Government had not yet been able to organize the disarmament meeting for which the Council had set a deadline of 31 July. At the same time, he reported that the situation in Liberia had further seriously deteriorated. The Council of State remained ineffective. Fighting continued between the Krahn and Mandingo elements of ULIMO in the west of the country, and between LPC and the NPFL in the south-east. There were also signs of a split within the NPFL hierarchy. All factions were experiencing command and control problems resulting in an increase in banditry and harassment of civilians, including NGOs and unarmed United Nations military observers. Disarmament had virtually ceased and there was no clear prospect as to when elections would or could be held. Population displacement from the counties in the south-east and west continued to grow with every new wave of fighting and with each report of atrocities against civilians. ECOMOG was still not fully deployed and UNOMIL had withdrawn from the western region because of the security problems. The Secretary-General informed the Council that he had decided to dispatch to Liberia a fact-finding mission which was to review the situation in the country and advise him on the most appropriate course of action. On the basis of the mission's report, the Secretary-General would submit to the Council his recommendations with regard to the future United Nations role in Liberia.

The mission, headed by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, visited the area from 16 to 26 August. The mission's findings and recommendations were conveyed to the Security Council in the Secretary-General's report dated 14 October 1994.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

In that report, the Secretary-General also described several significant events that took place after the Special Envoy left Liberia, including the Akosombo Agreement, the Liberian National Conference and the attempted *coup* against the Transitional Government on 15 September.

Akosombo Agreement. On 7 September, the Chairman of ECOWAS, President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, convened a meeting of the leaders of the

warring factions at Akosombo, Ghana. The meeting was attended by the NPFL, both wings of ULIMO and AFL. LPC and the Lofa Defence Force (LDF) — the second faction which emerged in Liberia after the signing of the Cotonou Agreement — declined to attend the meeting. Representatives of the Liberian National Transitional Government, OAU and the United Nations were present as facilitators. The meeting culminated in the signing, on 12 September, of a supplementary agreement to the Cotonou Agreement.

The Agreement reaffirmed the Cotonou Agreement as the only framework for peace in Liberia and sought to strengthen the role of the Liberian National Transitional Government in governing the country during the transitional period giving it a more central role in the supervision and monitoring of the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement. The Agreement permitted the factions to review the status of their appointees to the Council of State. Also, participation in the Transitional Legislative Assembly would be broadened by adding 13 representatives from the various counties.

In regard to military aspects, the Akosombo Agreement called for an immediate cease-fire and provided more details concerning its implementation, the disengagement of forces and the responsibilities of the factions with regard to assembly and disarmament of combatants. The Agreement foresaw that if disarmament and demobilization took place according to the agreed timetable, general elections could be held by October 1995.

The Agreement also further outlined the peace enforcement powers of ECOMOG, and, in doing so, provided a more central role to the Liberian National Transitional Government.

Soon after its signing, however, the Akosombo Agreement became engulfed in controversy and there was no movement towards its implementation.

Liberian National Conference. The Conference, organized at the initiative of private citizens, convened on 24 August to deliberate on the many aspects of the peace process. After extended sessions, lasting until 3 October, the Conference adopted a set of resolutions concerning the peace process and suspended further consultations for a period of two months, after which it planned to reconvene to assess progress made in disarmament and demobilization.

The Conference, like the Akosombo Agreement, reaffirmed the Cotonou Agreement as the only framework for restoring peace in Liberia and sought to enable the Liberian National Transitional Government to play a more central role in its implementation.

The Conference made a number of recommendations regarding disarmament, governance and the electoral process, which converge with the Akosombo Agreement.

The Conference also called for the Transitional Legislative Assembly to be expanded by an additional 13 persons. The most significant point of divergence between the resolutions of the Conference and the Akosombo Agreement was that the Conference called for the retention of the existing members on the Council of State.

With respect to the holding of elections, both the Agreement and the Conference concurred on a similar time-frame, with elections scheduled to take place around October 1995.

Attempted coup. A dissident group within AFL attempted to stage a *coup* against the Liberian National Transitional Government on 18 September. The attempted *coup* was successfully foiled by ECOMOG's decisive action.

SITUATION ON THE GROUND

Analysing the situation on the ground, the Secretary-General in his 14 October report to the Security Council stated that the military situation in Liberia remained confused, with groups aligning and realigning themselves depending on their short-term interests, and the breakdown of command and control within factions.

The situation was reaching the point where warlords, without any particular political agenda but with control of a certain number of soldiers, were seeking territory for the sake of adding to their own claim to power. The results were not large military victories, but deaths mostly of civilians, the decimation of entire villages and the breakdown of any semblance of law and order.

The Secretary-General further reported that the recent factional fighting had resulted in some 200,000 persons being uprooted from their places of temporary or permanent residence. Because of insecurity, international and local relief organizations located in Liberia had not been able to deal with the growing tragedy inside the country; it had been made impossible for the movement of relief supplies, including across the border from Côte d'Ivoire, leaving thousands without access to the assistance. As a result, almost all international humanitarian assistance operations ceased, except at Buchanan and Monrovia.

As to UNOMIL, the continued fighting significantly limited the ability of the Mission to perform its functions. Moreover, on a number of occasions, unarmed United Nations military observers were themselves the target of harassment and violence. On 9 September, NPFL elements detained 43 UNOMIL observers and 6 NGO personnel at nine sites in the northern and eastern regions, confiscating their transport, communications and most other equipment. UNOMIL immediately undertook round-the-clock contacts with faction representatives, NPFL interlocutors, neighbouring countries and ECOMOG in order to secure the release of those detained. By 18 September, all military observers and NGO personnel had been released. Some of them, however, had been mistreated, beaten and terrorized by those who had detained them.

The Secretary-General informed the Security Council that given the breakdown in the cease-fire and the fact that ECOMOG could not provide security for UNOMIL observers, UNOMIL was unable to carry out many of its mandated activities. As a result, all UNOMIL team sites were evacuated except for those in the Monrovia area. He also decided to reduce, as a temporary measure, the military personnel of the Mission from its authorized strength of 368 (including engineering and medical elements) to approximately 90 observers. This temporary reduction would be matched by a commensurate reduction in the civilian staff of UNOMIL.

As to ECOMOG, the Secretary-General reported that at a summit of ECOWAS, held at Abuja, Nigeria, on 5 and 6 August, Chairman Jerry Rawlings, President of Ghana, said that he would consider withdrawing his Government's contingent of ECOMOG if there was no progress by the end of 1994. Nigeria had reportedly reduced its presence, and Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania indicated they might withdraw theirs. The frustration of troop-contributors was based on both the lack of financial resources for the operation, and on the lack of progress in the peace process.

LIBERIA IN A "DESPERATE STATE"

The Secretary-General concluded his 14 October report by saying that "the political, military and humanitarian developments of the past month have left Liberia in a desperate state". The Liberian National Transitional Government, the factions and the people of Liberia needed to focus on political accommodation to stop the country from sliding deeper into chaos.

The Secretary-General informed the Security Council that he had decided to dispatch a high-level mission to consult the ECOWAS countries on how best the international community could continue to assist Liberia in bringing about a cessation of hostilities. The Secretary-General, therefore, recommended that the Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for a period of two months to allow the high-level mission time to conduct its work and present its conclusions.

On 21 October, the Security Council, by its resolution 950 (1994), extended the mandate of UNOMIL until 13 January 1995. It welcomed the Secretary-

General's intention to dispatch a high-level mission to consult with ECOWAS. The Council recognized that circumstances in Liberia had warranted the Secretary-General's decision to reduce UNOMIL's strength, and stated that any decision to return it to the authorized level should depend on a real improvement in the situation on the ground, particularly the security situation.

The Council called on all factions in Liberia to cease hostilities immediately, and to agree to a timetable for disengagement of forces, disarmament and demobilization. It further called on the Liberian National Transitional Government and all Liberians to seek political accommodation and national reconciliation and to work with the Chairman of ECOWAS and the Secretary-General's Special Representative to achieve a durable settlement.

The Council condemned the widespread killings of civilians and other violations of international humanitarian law by the factions in Liberia. It demanded that they strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL, and of other international organizations and relief agencies working there.

HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

Between 1993 and August 1994, the number of people in need of humanitarian assistance in Liberia had grown from 1.5 million to an estimated 1.8 million. By September, however, due to increased fighting humanitarian assistance and rehabilitation activities were limited to the areas immediately in and around Monrovia and Buchanan.

The United Nations Resident Coordinator in the country issued a press statement on 12 November 1994 saying that the crisis had affected more than 700,000 innocent civilians in rural Liberia and 1.2 million residents and displaced persons in Monrovia, its environs and the rest of Monserrado country. The Resident Coordinator noted that continued fighting severely restricted most relief activities, and that the plight of those suffering in rural Liberia could not be significantly eased until minimum conditions of security existed that would permit an orderly resumption of emergency food deliveries.

By the end of November 1994, donors had provided approximately 49 per cent of the $168.4 million in prioritized needs requested in the Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal, covering the period from November 1993 to December 1994.

MISSION TO ECOWAS MEMBER STATES

The Secretary-General's high-level mission, led by Mr. Lansana Kouyaté, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, visited Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone. Consultations were held with the Chairman of ECOWAS, President Rawlings of Ghana, with President Lansana Conté of Guinea, with Chairman Valentine Strasser of Sierra Leone, with President Konan Bédié of Côte d'Ivoire, and with the foreign ministers of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine.[3/] Discussions were also held with Liberia's Council of State, including its Chairman, David Kpormakpor, diplomatic missions, United Nations organizations and non-governmental organizations.

Mr. Kouyaté held discussions in Accra with the Liberian faction leaders, who were meeting there at the invitation of President Rawlings. He also had an opportunity to address the ECOWAS ministerial meeting, which was considering a Ghanaian initiative aimed at clarifying the Akosombo Agreement.

In all its consultations with States members of ECOWAS, the mission emphasized that an enduring political accommodation among the factions in Liberia would be possible only if it was underpinned by a common policy on the part of the six ECOWAS countries most directly involved with Liberia, namely, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

The mission concluded that, notwithstanding the tireless efforts of the Chairman of ECOWAS, the Liberian political and factional leaders were not yet committed to a sustainable peace in their country. Accordingly, the mission submitted the following recommendations for ending the conflict in Liberia:

— The Liberian political and factions leaders must be brought to understand that, in the absence of political accommodation and reconciliation, continued support from the international community would not be forthcoming;

— ECOWAS member States, particularly the six directly involved with Liberia, should urgently organize an extraordinary meeting of Heads of State to resolve their differences and harmonize their policies on Liberia;

— If the above could be accomplished, ECOWAS should be encouraged to consider strengthening ECOMOG and restructuring it in order to achieve a better balance of troops, including contributions from other African countries;

— International support, including financial support, logistics and equipment, should be sought to enable ECOMOG to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to deployment, encampment and disarmament. A planning and logistics team from the Department of Peace-keeping Operations could visit Liberia to offer ECOMOG technical assistance in preparing the necessary proposals;

— The future of UNOMIL should depend on the successful implementation of the above steps. Meanwhile, UNOMIL's mandate should be extended for a limited period of three months from 13 January 1995.

ACCRA AGREEMENT

The Akosombo Agreement continued to be a source of significant controversy among those Liberian parties and interest groups which had not taken part in the negotiations. Faced with opposition to the Agreement, the Chairman of ECOWAS dispatched delegations to Liberia and to several ECOWAS member States to seek a compromise.

In November 1994, the Liberian parties carried out negotiations at Accra for about three weeks. These led to the presentation by Ghana of a compromise proposal, which sought to address the key issues of an agreement: representation and timing of the seating of a new Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG); selection and status of its Chairman; decision-making by the Council; appointment of ministers; establishment of safe havens; cease-fire; and encampment and disarmament.

Although agreement was reached in several areas, the parties failed to reconcile their differences over the composition of the Council of State and the process of selecting its members.

After further discussions in early December 1994 between representatives of the Chairman of ECOWAS and the Liberian factions, the parties returned to Accra on 18 December and, having resolved their key differences, were able to sign two agreements on 21 December. Those Agreements (known collectively as the "Accra Agreement") included an agreement clarifying the Akosombo Agreement, which was signed by the NPFL, Alhaji Kromah's wing of ULIMO and the AFL. It also included an agreement whereby the non-signatories to the Akosombo Agreement (namely ULIMO-Johnson, LPC, LDF, the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPLF), which is a breakaway faction of the NPFL, and the Liberian National Conference) accepted that Agreement.

The Accra Agreement stipulated that a cease-fire would come into effect by midnight on 28 December 1994. A new, five-member Council of State would be installed within 14 days thereafter, composed of one member chosen by each of NPFL, ULIMO, AFL/Coalition and LNC and Mr. Tamba Taylor, a traditional chief chosen by NPLF and ULIMO. Elections would be held

on 14 November 1995 and a new Government installed on 1 January 1996.

SITUATION REMAINS UNSTABLE

On 6 January 1995, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council on events in Liberia, including the consultations between the Liberian parties under the auspices of ECOWAS and the recommendations of the high-level mission dispatched by him to the ECOWAS region.

The Secretary-General stated that although the cease-fire, which had come into effect at midnight on 28 December as stipulated, was holding, it was too early to assess how far the Liberian factions would adhere to the terms and conditions of the Accra Agreement.

He further reported that the military situation in Liberia had remained highly charged and unstable. The hostilities, which had resumed in September 1994, had spread to over 80 per cent of the country. Fighting had caused massive population displacement.

The inability of ECOMOG to deploy troops at major points along the borders of Liberia had been a factor in the continuous breach of the arms embargo. He noted that, because of insecurity and serious logistical difficulties, ECOMOG had been deployed in less than 15 per cent of the country.

At the same time, the Secretary-General stated, the humanitarian situation had continued to deteriorate. It had been estimated that the number of persons in Liberia requiring humanitarian assistance had risen to 1.8 million. In seeking to respond to humanitarian needs in this volatile environment, national and international relief organizations had to function under even more difficult circumstances than before. Increased insecurity had made efforts to expand relief operations into the interior a complex and difficult task. Unable to function effectively in Liberia and given pressing requirements elsewhere, some organizations had redeployed a number of their professional staff to other countries. Despite the difficulties and constraints, the humanitarian organizations of the United Nations system, in consultation with NGOs, had prepared a consolidated inter-agency appeal for Liberia for the first six months of 1995 (see *Humanitarian Situation*, below).

In concluding his report, the Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council extend UNOMIL's mandate for a period of three months. During that period, the Liberian parties would be expected to respect the cease-fire and implement the other relevant aspects of the Accra Agreement, including the installation of the new Council of State. During that period also, the Secretary-General's new Special Representative for Liberia, Mr. Anthony Nyakyi,[4/] would conduct an in-depth assessment of the role the United Nations could play in support of the peace process.

The Secretary-General reminded the Liberian factions that without their full commitment to the peace process, ECOWAS and the international community would not be in a position to continue to assist them in the search for peace in their country.

POLITICAL STALEMATE CONTINUES

In accordance with the timetable set out in the Accra agreement, the Liberian parties were to have nominated a new five-member Council of State within two weeks thereafter, i.e., by 11 January 1995. The Liberian parties met in Accra, under the auspices of ECOWAS, on 9 January to consult on the composition of the Council of State, with a view to installing it by 11 January. However, they were not able to reach agreement on its composition and chairmanship. The main bottleneck was the inability of the AFL and Coalition forces (ULIMO-J, LDF, LPC and CRC-NPFL) to reach agreement on their joint nominee. Nominees from the other parties included Charles Taylor, President of NPFL; Alhaji Kromah, Chairman of ULIMO-K; and Oscar Quiah, representative of LNC.

On 13 January 1995, the Security Council, by its resolution 972 (1995), extended the mandate of UNOMIL until 13 April. At the same time, the Council expressed deep concern at the failure of the Liberian parties to reach agreement on the composition of the Council of State and called upon them to work together to implement the Accra Agreement by upholding the cease-fire, resuming disarmament and demobilization of combatants and implementing the other relevant aspects of the agreement in accordance with the timetable, including the prompt installation of the New Council of State. With regard to returning UNOMIL and its civilian staff to the level authorized under resolution 866 (1993), the Council requested that the Secretary-General base any decision to do so on the existence of an effective cease-fire and on UNOMIL's ability to carry out its mandate. The Council urged Member States to provide support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and by providing financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the troops participating in ECOMOG.

During the following two weeks, the Chairman of ECOWAS, supported by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, continued discussions in Accra in an attempt to bring the parties to agreement. On 30 January, however, after almost one month of intensive but unsuccessful efforts, the Chairman of ECOWAS informed the parties that they should return to Liberia to continue their deliberations.

MILITARY SITUATION

Status of the cease-fire. In the meantime, the situation in Liberia remained tense. Although the cease-fire was generally holding, there were an increasing number of reports of low-level skirmishes between NPFL and LPC, especially in the south-eastern region of the country. UNOMIL reported that those skirmishes seemed to have resulted from attempts by field-level commanders and combatants to steal food and property from civilians. The humanitarian agencies located in the city of Buchanan had reported an increase in the number of displaced people in Grand Bassa and Rivercess counties as a result of NPFL and LPC activity.

By resolution 972 (1995), the Security Council requested the Secretary-General to report on the role of UNOMIL and of ECOMOG in Liberia and the resource requirements of ECOWAS States to maintain their troops in ECOMOG. The Secretary-General dispatched a small technical team to Monrovia, which held detailed consultations from 6 to 10 February 1995.

Role of ECOMOG. ECOMOG informed the technical team that its present strength was about 8,430 troops, organized in 10 self-contained infantry battalions. The Government of Nigeria contributed the bulk of the force (4,908), while troops were also provided by the Governments of Ghana (1,028), Guinea (609), the United Republic of Tanzania (747), Uganda (760) and Sierra Leone (359). Smaller contingents were also provided by the Gambia (10) and Mali (10).

The main military functions of ECOMOG, in accordance with the Cotonou and Accra agreements, were the protection of civilians in safe havens; establishment and provision of security for assembly sites, where the combatants would initially congregate pending disarmament; establishment and provision of security for encampment sites where ECOMOG would disarm combatants and carry out other activities related to demobilization; assistance in the enforcement of the arms embargo through the establishment of border crossing points and patrols; and maintenance of general security throughout the country.

Needs of ECOWAS. In order to carry out its responsibilities under the Accra agreement, ECOMOG had indicated that it would require a force of some 12,000 all ranks. That would require seven additional self-contained battalions (about 4,250 troops), taking into account the proposed withdrawal of the Tanzanian contingent. The Force Commander of ECOMOG also

provided details of the logistical, financial and other requirements to enable ECOMOG to carry out its tasks under the Accra agreement.

The technical team found that the resources and logistical assets available to ECOMOG were clearly insufficient for it to carry out its tasks effectively. Accordingly, the team concluded that ECOMOG's estimates of its logistical support requirements were justified. The team was not convinced, however, that seven additional battalions would be required for the implementation of ECOMOG's concept of operations.

Role of UNOMIL. Because of the security situation in the country, the 78 military observers and seven paramedical staff serving with UNOMIL were deployed only in the greater Monrovia area, including Buchanan and Kakata. Should UNOMIL be brought back to full strength, it was estimated that 303 military observers and 16 medical staff would be required to enable it to perform the tasks entrusted to it under resolution 866 (1993).

HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

In the absence of credible security guarantees, relief activities continued to be limited to greater Monrovia and Buchanan town, and to those areas of Grand Bassa, Margibi and Montserrado counties that were controlled by ECOMOG. The humanitarian crisis in Monrovia itself was of particular concern and continued to be aggravated by a steady flow of internally displaced persons seeking refuge, and a small number of combatants wishing to demobilize.

On 3 February, the Secretary-General launched an inter-agency consolidated appeal for Liberia, for the six-month period January to June 1995, seeking the $65 million in extrabudgetary resources required by United Nations agencies to continue to carry out life-saving interventions in a number of key emergency sectors. While the appeal sought funds for activities to be undertaken in those areas of Liberia secured by ECOMOG, it also made allowance for the possibility of expanding humanitarian assistance programmes to other areas, should security conditions allow.

In accordance with this strategy, a number of United Nations agencies and NGOs undertook exploratory initiatives in January to expand the scope of their operations. Several international NGOs also made preliminary overtures to the factions concerning the possibility of commencing activities on a larger scale.

According to the February appeal, up to 1.8 million persons inside Liberia required emergency assistance, but only 1.5 million of those could be reached.

The appeal covered a wide range of humanitarian programmes in the following sectors: food and nutrition, agriculture and food, health and medical relief, water and sanitation, emergency shelter, education and training. Special projects for children and women were also prepared. Agencies taking part in the appeal included FAO, HABITAT in conjunction with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), UNICEF, WFP, WHO and the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs.

OPTIONS BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL

As requested by Security Council resolution 972 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted his progress report on the situation in Liberia on 24 February 1995. The report covered the main developments in Liberia, the role of ECOMOG and UNOMIL, and contained some options for addressing the continuing stalemate in the peace process.

The Secretary-General noted that two months after the signing of the Accra agreement, the Liberian factions and political leaders were still haggling over the composition and chairmanship of the Council of State and had yet to show that they were genuinely committed to the fulfilment of their obligations under the agreement. Moreover, their inability to re-establish a cease-fire verification committee, as stipulated in the Accra accord, threatened the already fragile cease-fire.

Under the circumstances, the Secretary-General felt that the time had come to consider carefully how the international community could continue to assist in the search for peace and stability in Liberia and what form this assistance should take. In this regard, the Secretary-General presented a number of options which the Council would have to consider when the mandate of UNOMIL expired on 13 April.

If the Liberian parties demonstrated a clear willingness to implement the Accra agreement, the Council's options would be:

(a) To maintain UNOMIL as currently mandated under resolution 866 (1993). It was imperative that ECOMOG be provided with the resources required to carry out its responsibilities. The viability of this option would also depend on a restructuring of ECOMOG, effective enforcement of the arms embargo and more effective harmonization of the policies of the ECOWAS member States towards Liberia;

(b) To consider an enhanced role of the United Nations in Liberia through the establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping force to help the parties implement all aspects of the Accra agreement.

However, if the current political stalemate continued, the Secretary-General said, the Council's options would be:

(a) To reduce further UNOMIL's military component and limit the Mission's mandate to the provision of good offices, until the parties clearly demonstrated the political will necessary to reactivate the peace process;

(b) To withdraw UNOMIL, a decision that would send a signal to ECOWAS and the Liberian people that the international community had given up its effort to help to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in Liberia.

The Secretary-General did not expect the Security Council to decide on these options immediately. He felt, however, that it was useful to outline some possible courses of action, so as to give the members of the Council, ECOWAS and, above all, the Liberian parties an opportunity to reflect upon the difficult choices that had to be made. The Secretary-General also said that whichever option was chosen, the international community would need to continue its active role in providing humanitarian assistance to those in need in Liberia.

UNOMIL'S MANDATE EXTENDED

During the following weeks, all further efforts, including those by Chief Tamba Taylor in Liberia, to break the impasse over the new Council of State proved to be unsuccessful.

On 10 April 1995, the Secretary-General reported again to the Security Council that the peace process in Liberia remained at impasse. Moreover, military activities had intensified throughout the country and the overall situation had further deteriorated. The civilian population continued to suffer and the factions' military activities had impeded the delivery of essential relief items to most areas of the country other than Buchanan, Kakata and Monrovia.

The Secretary-General also informed the Council that in addition to the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Government of Uganda had indicated its intention to withdraw from ECOMOG. The withdrawal of both contingents would bring the strength of ECOMOG down from 8,430 to approximately 6,843 all ranks.

The Secretary-General recalled that the Security Council, in its resolution 972 (1995), had expressed the hope that the member States of ECOWAS would convene a summit with a view to harmonizing their policies on Liberia, including tightening the application of the arms embargo. In that connection, the Secretary-General reported on his meeting with President Rawlings on 11 March 1995 in Copenhagen, during which it had been agreed that the summit should take place as soon as possible and should bring together the Heads of State of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine and also involve the leaders of the Liberian parties.

It was essential, the Secretary-General emphasized, that the ECOWAS summit would be a much-needed catalyst to re-start the peace process and achieve concrete results.

The Secretary-General also recalled that in the 24 February 1995 report, he had stated, *inter alia*, that if the current political stalemate were to continue, the Security Council might wish to consider either the withdrawal of UNOMIL or a further reduction of its military component until the parties clearly demonstrated the political will necessary to reactivate the peace process.

However, he felt that the proposed ECOWAS summit did offer a possibility that the peace process might shortly be re-launched. In those circumstances, it would be premature to withdraw UNOMIL at this stage, which would signal to ECOWAS and the Liberian people that the international community had given up its efforts to assist in finding a peaceful solution to the conflict in Liberia.

Accordingly, the Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 30 June 1995. However, given the fact that the security situation prevented UNOMIL from carrying out part of its mandate, it was Secretary-General's intention to reduce its military strength by a further 20 observers. He hoped that, during that period, ECOWAS would have sufficient time to prepare for and convene its summit and that the parties would finally cooperate fully with the ongoing efforts of ECOWAS and the international community to restore peace in Liberia.

On 13 April, the Security Council, by its resolution 985 (1995) decided to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 30 June 1995 and urged all Liberian parties to implement the Akosombo and Accra Agreements. The Council urged all States, and in particular all neighbouring States, to comply fully with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992), and to that end decided to establish a Committee of the Security Council, consisting of all the members of the Council, to monitor and help improve the embargo's effectiveness, and to recommend measures in response to violations.

The Council expressed its appreciation to the Chairman of ECOWAS for his initiative in organizing a regional summit on Liberia and to the Government of Nigeria for agreeing to host it. The Council requested the Secretary-General to report to it by 15 June 1995 as to whether there was an effective cease-fire in Liberia, whether UNOMIL could carry out its mandate, and on the status of contributions of financial and logistical resources in support of ECOMOG. The Council would consider the future of UNOMIL in the light of that report.

COMPOSITION OF UNOMIL

The Chief Military Observer of UNOMIL is Major-General Daniel Ishmael Opande (Kenya). The authorized strength of the Mission is 303 military observers, 20 military medical personnel and 45 military engineers. As at April 1995, they were provided by the following countries:

COUNTRY	TROOPS	OBSERVERS
Bangladesh	7	8
China		5
Czech Republic		6
Egypt		7
Guinea Bissau		5
India		6
Jordan		9
Kenya	2	9
Malaysia		8
Pakistan		8
Uruguay		6
TOTAL	9	77

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation. "Troops" include any infantry, logistics, engineering, air, medical, mov-con, staff, etc.

There is also a provision for 89 civilian international personnel, 58 United Nations Volunteers and 136 local staff.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The costs of UNOMIL are met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States. The rough cost to the United Nations of the Mission in 1994 was approximately $36.4 million. On 23 December 1994, the General Assembly, by its resolution 49/232, authorized the Secretary-General to enter into commitments in an amount not to exceed $1,593,800 gross ($1,511,100 net) per month for the period of six months beyond 13 January 1995 for the maintenance of UNOMIL.

As of 28 March 1995, contributions outstanding to the UNOMIL Special Account for the period from the inception of the operation amounted to approximately $6.9 million.

With regard to the Trust Fund for the Implementation of the Cotonou Agreement, as of 28 March 1995, voluntary contributions received amounted to $23.3 million, of which disbursements totalling $17.9 million had been authorized.

NOTES

1/ ECOWAS membership: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo.

2/ Following renewed hostilities, this figure was revised down to $168.4 million, to reflect limits on implementation of rehabilitation activities.

3/ The ECOWAS Committee of Nine coordinates ECOWAS activities on Liberia and is composed of the foreign ministers of Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone.

4/ On 19 November 1994, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council of his intention to appoint Mr. Anthony B. Nyakyi, former Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations, to succeed Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers as his Special Representative for Liberia. Mr. Nyakyi took up his duties in Monrovia on 28 December 1994.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND STATEMENTS BY ITS PRESIDENT

(22 January 1991 — 13 April 1995)

SECURITY COUNCIL

Under the United Nations Charter, the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. All United Nations Member States have agreed to accept and carry out the Council's decisions in accordance with the Charter. The Council is composed of 15 members. Five are permanent: China, France, the Russian Federation,* the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. The 10 non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly to serve two-year terms. Since 1991, non-permanent members of the Security Council were as follows:

1991 — Austria, Belgium, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, India, Romania, Yemen, Zaire and Zimbabwe.

1992 — Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco, Venezuela and Zimbabwe.

1993 — Brazil, Cape Verde, Djibouti, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Spain and Venezuela.

1994 — Argentina, Brazil, Czech Republic, Djibouti, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Rwanda and Spain.

1995 — Argentina, Botswana, the Czech Republic, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman and Rwanda.

Each member of the Security Council has one vote. Decisions on substantive matters require nine affirmative votes including the concurring votes of all five permanent members. The permanent members may abstain or not participate at all in the voting, and still satisfy the stipulation of their concurrence in the affirmative vote. A negative vote by any permanent member means the rejection of the draft resolution or proposal.

RESOLUTIONS AND STATEMENTS

Between 22 January 1991 and 13 April 1995, the Council adopted eight resolutions directly relating to the situation in Liberia. In addition, the President of the Security Council issued seven statements in this connection. The full text of those resolutions and statements is reproduced on the following pages.

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* The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was an original Member of the United Nations from 24 October 1945. In a letter dated 24 December 1991, the President of the Russian Federation informed the Secretary-General that the membership of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the United Nations, including the Security Council and all the organs and organizations of the United Nations system, was being continued by the Russian Federation with the support of the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
22 January 1991

Following consultations of the Security Council, the President made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 2974th meeting on 22 January 1991, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia":

The members of the Security Council took note of the final communiqué of the first extraordinary session of the Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) issued in Bamako, Mali, on 28 November 1990.

The members of the Security Council commend the efforts made by the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government to promote peace and normalcy in Liberia.

The members of the Security Council call upon the parties to the conflict in Liberia to continue to respect the cease-fire agreement which they have signed and to cooperate fully with the ECOWAS to restore peace and normalcy in Liberia.

The members of the Security Council express appreciation to the Member States, the Secretary-General and humanitarian organizations for the humanitarian assistance to Liberia and call for additional assistance. In this connection the Council welcomes the resumption of the United Nations emergency programme in Liberia following the acceptance of a general cease-fire.

The members of the Security Council support the appeal launched by the ECOWAS Summit to the international community for increased humanitarian assistance to the people of Liberia.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
7 May 1992

Following consultations of the Security Council, the President made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 3071st meeting on 7 May 1992, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia":

The members of the Security Council recalled the statement made by the President of the Council on behalf of the Council on 22 January 1991 concerning the situation in Liberia (S/22133).

The members of the Security Council noted with appreciation the final communiqué of the Informal Consultative Group Meeting of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Committee of Five on Liberia issued at Geneva on 7 April 1992 (S/23863).

The members of the Security Council commend ECOWAS and its various organs, in particular the Committee of Five, for their untiring efforts to bring the Liberian conflict to a speedy conclusion.

In this connection the members of the Security Council believe that the Yamoussoukro Accord of 30 October 1991 offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary conditions for free and fair elections in Liberia.

The members of the Security Council renew their call to all parties to the conflict in Liberia to respect and implement the various accords of the peace process in the framework of the ECOWAS Committee of Five, including refraining from actions which endanger the security of neighbouring States.

The members of the Security Council commend the efforts of the Members States, the Secretary-General and humanitarian organizations in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the civil war in Liberia and in this regard reaffirm their support for increased assistance.

RESOLUTION 788 (1992)
19 November 1992

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling the statements by the President of the Council on its behalf on 22 January 1991

(S/22133) and 7 May 1992 (S/23886) on the situation in Liberia,

Reaffirming its belief that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991 (S/24815) offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary conditions for free and fair elections in Liberia,

Taking into account the decision of the Joint Meeting of the Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five of 20 October 1992 held at Cotonou, Benin (S/24735) and the Final Communiqué of the First Meeting of the Monitoring Committee of Nine on the Liberian conflict issued at Abuja, Nigeria on 7 November 1992 (S/24812, annex),

Regretting that parties to the conflict in Liberia have not respected or implemented the various accords to date, especially the Yamoussoukro IV Accord (S/24815),

Determining that the deterioration of the situation in Liberia constitutes a threat to international peace and security, particularly in West Africa as a whole,

Recalling the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Noting that the deterioration of the situation hinders the creation of conditions conducive to the holding of free and fair elections in accordance with the Yamoussoukro IV Accord,

Welcoming the continued commitment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to and the efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict,

Further welcoming the endorsement and support by the Organization of African Unity of these efforts,

Noting the request of 29 July 1992 from ECOWAS for the United Nations to dispatch an observer group to Liberia to verify and monitor the electoral process,

Taking note of the invitation of ECOWAS of 20 October 1992, in Cotonou, Benin, for the Secretary-General to consider, if necessary, the dispatch of a group to observe the encampment and disarmament of the warring parties,

Recognizing the need for increased humanitarian assistance,

Taking into account the request made by the Permanent Representative of Benin on behalf of ECOWAS (S/24735),

Taking also into account the letter of the Foreign Minister of Liberia endorsing the request made by the Permanent Representative of Benin on behalf of ECOWAS (S/24825),

Convinced that it is vital to find a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the conflict in Liberia,

1. Commends ECOWAS for its efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia;

2. Reaffirms its belief that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary conditions for free and fair elections in Liberia, and ***calls upon*** ECOWAS to continue its efforts to assist in the peaceful implementation of this Accord;

3. Condemns the violation of the cease-fire of 28 November 1990 by any party to the conflict;

4. Condemns the continuing armed attacks against the peace-keeping forces of ECOWAS in Liberia by one of the parties to the conflict;

5. Calls upon all parties to the conflict and all others concerned to respect strictly the provisions of international humanitarian law;

6. Calls upon all parties to the conflict to respect and implement the cease-fire and the various accords of the peace process, including the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991, and the Final Communiqué of the Informal Consultative Group Meeting of ECOWAS Committee of Five on Liberia, issued at Geneva on 7 April 1992, to which they themselves have agreed;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to dispatch urgently a Special Representative to Liberia to evaluate the situation, and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible with any recommendations he may wish to make;

8. Decides, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purposes of establishing peace and stability in Liberia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia until the Security Council decides otherwise;

9. Decides within the same framework that the embargo imposed by paragraph 8 shall not apply to weapons and military equipment destined for the sole use of the peace-keeping forces of ECOWAS in Liberia, subject to any review that may be required in conformity with the report of the Secretary-General;

10. Requests all States to respect the measures established by ECOWAS to bring about a peaceful solution to the conflict in Liberia;

11. Calls on Member States to exercise self-restraint in their relations with all parties to the Liberian conflict and to refrain from taking any action that would be inimical to the peace process;

12. Commends the efforts of Member States, the United Nations system and humanitarian organizations in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the conflict in Liberia, and in this regard ***reaffirms*** its support for increased humanitarian assistance;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report on the implementation of this resolution as soon as possible;

14. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 813 (1993)
26 March 1993

Adopted, as orally revised in its provisional form, by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Liberia (S/25402),

Recalling its resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992,

Further recalling the statements by the President of the Council on its behalf on 22 January 1991 (S/22133) and 7 May 1992 (S/23886) on the situation in Liberia,

Reaffirming its belief that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991 (S/24815) offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary climate and conditions for free and fair elections in Liberia,

Deploring that parties to the conflict in Liberia have not respected or implemented the various accords to date, especially the Yamoussoukro IV Accord,

Noting that the continuing breach of earlier accords hinders the creation of a climate and conditions conducive to the holding of free and fair elections in accordance with the Yamoussoukro IV Accord,

Recognizing the need for increased humanitarian assistance,

Welcoming the continued commitment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to and the efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict,

Further welcoming the endorsement and support by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) of these efforts,

Recalling the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Determining that the deterioration of the situation in Liberia constitutes a threat to international peace and security, particularly in this region of West Africa,

1. Approves the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Liberia (S/25402);

2. Commends ECOWAS for its efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia;

3. Commends the OAU for its efforts in support of the peace process in Liberia;

4. Reaffirms its belief that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary conditions for free and fair elections in Liberia, and ***encourages*** ECOWAS to continue its efforts to assist in the peaceful implementation of this Accord;

5. Condemns the violation of the cease-fire of 28 November 1990 by any party to the conflict;

6. Condemns the continuing armed attacks against the peace-keeping forces of ECOWAS in Liberia by one of the parties to the conflict;

7. Reiterates its call upon all parties to respect and implement the cease-fire and the various accords of the peace process, including the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991, and the Final Communiqué of the Informal Consultative Group Meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Five in Liberia, issued at Geneva on 7 April 1992, to which they themselves have agreed;

8. Welcomes the Secretary-General's appointment of Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers as his Special Representative for Liberia;

9. Calls upon all States strictly to abide by and comply with the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter;

10. Demands that all parties fully cooperate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and ECOWAS with a view to ensuring the full and prompt implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991;

11. Declares its readiness to consider appropriate measures in support of ECOWAS if any party is unwilling to cooperate in implementation of the provisions of the Yamoussoukro Accords, in particular the encampment and disarmament provisions;

12. Reiterates its call on Member States to exercise self-restraint in their relations with all parties to the Liberian conflict, in particular to refrain from providing any military assistance to any of the parties and also to refrain from taking any action that would be inimical to the peace process;

13. Reaffirms that the embargo imposed by resolution 788 (1992) shall not apply to weapons, military equipment and military assistance destined for the sole use of the peace-keeping forces of ECOWAS in Liberia;

14. Further commends the efforts of Member States, the United Nations system and humanitarian organizations in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the conflict in Liberia, and in this regard ***reaffirms*** its support for increased humanitarian assistance;

15. Demands that the parties concerned refrain from any action that will impede or obstruct the delivery of humanitarian assistance and ***calls upon*** them to ensure the safety of all personnel involved in international humanitarian assistance;

16. Reiterates its call upon all parties to the conflict and all others concerned to respect strictly the provisions of international humanitarian law;

17. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with ECOWAS, to consider the possibility of convening a meeting of the President of the Interim Government of National Unity and the warring factions, after thorough and detailed groundwork, to restate their commitment to the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord within an agreed timetable;

18. Requests the Secretary-General to discuss with ECOWAS and the parties concerned the contribution which the United Nations could make in support of the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, including the deployment of United Nations observers;

19. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report on the implementation of this resolution as soon as possible;

20. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
9 June 1993

Following consultations with the members of the Security Council, the President of the Council made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 3233rd meeting, on 9 June 1993, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia":

The Security Council is shocked and saddened by the senseless killing of innocent civilians which occurred near Harbel, Liberia, on the morning of 6 June 1993. It strongly condemns this massacre of innocent displaced persons, including women and children, which comes at a time when the Secretary-General's Special Representative is working diligently, in furtherance of the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), on the basis of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, to arrange a meeting of the warring factions in order to bring the three-year civil war to a peaceful end.

The Security Council urges all parties to the conflict to respect the rights of the civilian population and take all necessary measures to secure their safety.

The Security Council requests the Secretary-General to commence immediately a thorough and full investigation of the massacre, including any allegations as to the perpetrators whoever they may be, and report to it as soon as possible. It warns that those found responsible for such serious violations of international humanitarian law will be held accountable for such crimes and demands that the leaders of any faction responsible for such acts effectively control their forces and take decisive steps to ensure that such deplorable tragedies do not happen again.

The Council remains firmly supportive of the efforts of ECOWAS and the Secretary-General to bring peace to Liberia. It urges all Liberian factions and regional leaders to give their full cooperation to current efforts by Special Representative Trevor Gordon-Somers to assist in the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord calling, *inter alia*, for a cease-fire, encampment, disarmament and democratic elections.

RESOLUTION 856 (1993)
10 August 1993

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993,

Welcoming the signing under the auspices of ECOWAS, on 25 July 1993, at Cotonou, Benin, of a Peace Agreement between the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU), the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the United Liberation Movement for Democracy (ULIMO) (S/26272),

Considering that the signing of the Peace Agreement constitutes a major achievement and an important contribution to the restoration of peace and security in Liberia and in this region of West Africa, and creates the opportunity to bring an end to the conflict,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General dated 3 August 1993 (S/26200),

1. Welcomes the decision of the Secretary-General to send a technical team to Liberia to gather and evaluate information relevant to the proposed establishment of

a United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL);

2. Approves the dispatch to Liberia as soon as possible of an advance team of thirty military observers to participate in the work of the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee, including in particular to monitor, investigate and report cease-fire violations in conjunction with the said Committee, the mandate of said team to expire within three months;

3. Looks forward to the report of the Secretary-General on the proposed establishment of UNOMIL, including in particular a detailed estimate of the cost and scope of this operation, a time-frame for its implementation, the projected conclusion of this operation, how to ensure coordination between UNOMIL and the peace-keeping forces of ECOWAS and their respective roles and responsibilities;

4. Calls upon all parties to the conflict to respect and implement the cease-fire provided for in the Peace Agreement and to cooperate fully with the advance mission and ensure the safety of all United Nations personnel and all other peace-keeping and humanitarian personnel within Liberia;

5. Urges the conclusion at the earliest possible stage of a status of mission agreement;

6. Commends ECOWAS for its efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia;

7. Commends the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for its efforts in support of the peace process in Liberia;

8. Decides to remain actively seized of this matter.

RESOLUTION 866 (1993)
22 September 1993

Adopted, as orally revised in its provisional form, by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993 and 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General (S/26422 and Add.1) dated 9 September 1993 on the proposed establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Noting that the Peace Agreement signed by the three Liberian parties in Cotonou on 25 July 1993 calls on the United Nations and the Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to assist in the implementation of the Agreement,

Emphasizing as noted in the Secretary-General's report of 4 August 1993 (S/26200), that the Peace Agreement assigns ECOMOG the primary responsibility of supervising the implementation of the military provisions of the Agreement and envisages that the United Nations role shall be to monitor and verify this process,

Noting that this would be the first peace-keeping mission undertaken by the United Nations in cooperation with a peace-keeping mission already set up by another organization, in this case ECOWAS,

Recognizing that United Nations involvement would contribute significantly to the effective implementation of the Peace Agreement and would serve to underline the international community's commitment to conflict resolution in Liberia,

Commending ECOWAS for its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Commending also the efforts of the Organization of African Unity in support of the peace process in Liberia,

Stressing the importance of full cooperation and close coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of their respective mandates,

Taking note of the deployment of an advance team of United Nations military observers to Liberia as authorized under resolution 856 (1993),

Welcoming the establishment of the Joint Cease-Fire Monitoring Committee (JCMC) composed of the three Liberian parties, ECOMOG and the United Nations,

Welcoming also the formation in Cotonou on 27 August 1993 of the five-member Council of States representing all three Liberian parties, which, in accordance with the Peace Agreement, shall be installed concomitantly with the commencement of the disarmament process and shall be responsible for the day-to-day operation of the transitional government,

Noting that the Peace Agreement calls for legislative and presidential elections to take place approximately seven months after the signing of the Peace Agreement,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 9 September 1993 (S/26422) on the proposed establishment of UNOMIL;

2. Decides to establish UNOMIL under its authority and under the direction of the Secretary-General through his Special Representative for a period of seven months, subject to the proviso that it will continue beyond 16 December 1993 only upon a review by the Council based on a report from the Secretary-General on whether or not substantive progress has been made towards the implementation of the Peace Agreement and other measures aimed at establishing a lasting peace;

3. Decides that UNOMIL shall comprise military observers as well as medical, engineering, communications, transportation and electoral components, in the numbers indicated in the Secretary-General's report, together with minimal staff necessary to support it, and shall have the following mandate:

(a) To receive and investigate all reports on alleged incidents of violations of the cease-fire agreement and, if the violation cannot be corrected, to report its findings to the Violations Committee established pursuant to the Peace Agreement and to the Secretary-General;

(b) To monitor compliance with other elements of the Peace Agreement, including at points on Liberia's borders with Sierra Leone and other neighbouring countries, and to verify its impartial application, and in particular to assist in the monitoring of compliance with the embargo on delivery of arms and military equipment to Liberia and the cantonment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants;

(c) To observe and verify the election process, including the legislative and presidential elections to be held in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Agreement;

(d) To assist, as appropriate, in the coordination of humanitarian assistance activities in the field in conjunction with the existing United Nations humanitarian relief operation;

(e) To develop a plan and assess financial requirements for the demobilization of combatants;

(f) To report on any major violations of international humanitarian law to the Secretary-General;

(g) To train ECOMOG engineers in mine clearance and, in cooperation with ECOMOG, coordinate the identification of mines and assist in the clearance of mines and unexploded bombs;

(h) Without participation in enforcement operations, to coordinate with ECOMOG in the discharge of ECOMOG's separate responsibilities both formally, through the Violations Committee, and informally;

4. Welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to conclude with the Chairman of ECOWAS an agreement defining, before deployment of UNOMIL, the roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOWAS in the implementation of the Peace Agreement, in accordance with the concept of operations outlined in Chapter IV of the Secretary-General's report (S/26422), and ***re-***

requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed on the progress and outcome of the negotiations leading thereto;

5. Encourages African States to provide the additional troops requested from them by ECOWAS for ECOMOG;

6. Welcomes the steps taken by the Secretary-General to establish a Trust Fund, which would facilitate the sending of reinforcements by African States to ECOMOG, assist in supporting troops of participating ECOMOG countries and also assist in mine-clearing, humanitarian and development activities, as well as the electoral process, and ***calls on*** Member States to support the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the Trust Fund;

7. Urges the Liberian parties to commence the encampment, disarmament and demobilization process without delay;

8. Welcomes the decision to establish the transitional government and urges also the Liberian parties to begin the exercise of that government's responsibilities concomitantly with the process described in paragraph 7 above and consistent with the Peace Agreement;

9. Calls on the transitional government to conclude expeditiously, and no later than 60 days after its installation, a Status of Mission Agreement with the United Nations to facilitate the full deployment of UNOMIL;

10. Urges the Liberian parties to finalize the composition of the Elections Commission so that it can promptly undertake the necessary preparations for legislative and presidential elections by March 1994, at the latest, in accordance with the timetable foreseen in the Peace Agreement;

11. Calls on the Liberian parties to cooperate fully in the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country by the most direct routes, in accordance with the Peace Agreement;

12. Welcomes ECOMOG's stated commitment to ensure the safety of UNOMIL observers and civilian staff and ***urges*** the Liberian parties to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of UNOMIL personnel, as well as of the personnel involved in relief operations, and strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to submit progress reports to the Council on the implementation of the present resolution by 16 December 1993 and by 16 February 1994;

14. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
25 February 1994

At the 3339th meeting of the Security Council, held on 25 February 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item "The situation in Liberia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council takes note of the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Liberia (S/1994/168 and Add.1).

The Council welcomes the agreement reached at Monrovia contained in the communiqué of 15 February 1994 (S/1994/187, annex), in which the parties once again reaffirmed their commitment to the Cotonou Agreement as the basis for a lasting political settlement to the Liberian conflict. The Council calls upon the parties to uphold strictly the timetable outlined in that communiqué: the commencement of disarmament and the installation of a transitional government on 7 March 1994, and the holding of free and fair general elections on 7 September 1994. The Council urges the parties to resolve quickly their differences on the disposition of the four remaining Cabinet posts.

The Council, however, wishes to express its concern about the recent upsurge in violence in Liberia and the

related disruption of humanitarian relief shipments, to which the rise of new military groups and problems of military indiscipline among the existing factions have contributed. It deplores the consequent loss of life, destruction of property and the increased number of people that have since been displaced. The Council calls on all Liberian parties to adhere strictly to the cease-fire agreement and to cooperate fully with the international relief efforts in order to put an end to the obstacles periodically impeding the delivery of humanitarian aid.

The Council is gravely concerned at the delays in implementing the commitments entered into by the parties under the Cotonou Agreement, in particular the commencement of disarmament and the installation of the Liberian National Transitional Government.

The Council reminds the parties that they themselves bear ultimate responsibility for the successful implementation of the Cotonou Agreement. The Liberian parties should bear in mind that the support of the international community and of the Security Council will not continue in the absence of tangible progress towards full and prompt implementation of the Agreement, in particular, the revised timetable. These delays jeopardize both the viability of the Cotonou Agreement itself and the ability of UNOMIL to fulfil its mandate.

The Council looks forward to the proposed meeting of ECOWAS Foreign Ministers in March and to continued progress on the ground. The Council underlines the importance of adhering to the timetable and will review the situation again in March 1994 to evaluate what progress has been made.

The Council underlines the importance of disarmament to the successful implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and in this context, notes the central role in the disarmament process given to ECOMOG under the Agreement.

The Council, therefore, takes note of the Secretary-General's observation that the ECOMOG forces face considerable financial and logistical difficulties and strongly supports his call on Member States to assist the peace process by providing the necessary financial and logistical resources to ECOMOG to enable it to meet its obligations under the Cotonou Agreement. The Council supports the Secretary-General's appeal to all Member States which have not already done so to contribute generously to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia. The Council concurs with the Secretary-General that UNOMIL's ability to carry out its mandate depends on the capacity of ECOMOG to discharge its responsibilities.

The Council commends ECOWAS and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for their continued efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia. The Council notes with appreciation that the ECOMOG force has now been expanded pursuant to resolution 866 (1993) and commends all countries which have contributed troops and resources to ECOMOG since its inception in 1990.

The Council commends also the efforts of Member States and humanitarian organizations in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the Liberian civil war. The anticipated reunification of the country by 7 March 1994 and the ensuring repatriation of Liberian refugees will accelerate the demand for additional humanitarian relief, and in this regard the Council urgently appeals to Member States and humanitarian organizations to increase their assistance to Liberia.

The Council reaffirms its appreciation for the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative towards the establishment of a lasting peace in Liberia.

RESOLUTION 911 (1994)
21 April 1994

Adopted, as orally revised in its provisional form, by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993 and 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993,

Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General dated 16 December 1993 (S/26868), 16 February 1994 (S/1994/168) and 18 April 1994 (S/1994/463) on the activities of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Welcoming the progress made towards establishing the Liberian National Transitional Government but concerned about subsequent delays in implementing the Cotonou Peace Agreement,

Expressing its concern over renewed fighting between the Liberian parties and the negative impact that this fighting has had on the disarmament process, the effort to provide humanitarian relief, and the plight of displaced persons,

Commending the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in their efforts to help restore peace, security and stability in Liberia and ***urging*** them to continue their efforts with the aim of assisting the Liberian parties to complete the process of political settlement in the country,

Recognizing, as noted in the Secretary-General's report of 4 August 1993 (S/26200), that the Peace Agreement assigns the ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to assist in the implementation of the Agreement,

Commending those African States that have contributed troops to ECOMOG, and those Member States that have contributed to the Trust Fund or by providing other assistance in support of the troops,

Welcoming the close cooperation between UNOMIL and ECOMOG and ***stressing*** the importance of continued full cooperation and coordination between them in the implementation of their respective tasks,

Noting that the revised timetable of the Peace Agreement established on 15 February 1994 in Monrovia calls for legislative and presidential elections to take place by 7 September 1994,

1. Welcomes the Secretary-General's report dated 18 April 1994 (S/1994/463) and the progress the parties have made towards the implementation of the Peace Agreement and other measures aimed at establishing a lasting peace;

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 22 October 1994, on the understanding that the Security Council will, by 18 May 1994, review the situation in Liberia, including the role played by UNOMIL in that country, based on a report by the Secretary-General on whether or not the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government has been fully installed, and on whether there has been substantial progress in disarmament and in implementing the peace process;

3. Decides further that the Council will again review the situation in Liberia, including the role played by UNOMIL, on or before 30 June 1994, on the basis of a report of the Secretary-General, such review to include consideration of whether sufficient progress has been made in implementing the revised timetable of the Peace Agreement to warrant continued UNOMIL involvement, in particular, the effective operation of the Liberian National Transitional Government, progress in carrying out disarmament and demobilization, and preparations for the holding of elections on 7 September 1994;

4. Notes that if the Council considers, during either of the above reviews, that progress has been insufficient, it may request the Secretary-General to prepare options regarding UNOMIL's mandate and continued operations;

5. Urges all Liberian parties to cease hostilities immediately and to cooperate with ECOMOG forces to complete the disarmament process expeditiously;

6. *Calls* on the Liberian parties as an urgent priority to complete installation, within the time-frame established in paragraph 2 above, of the Liberian National Transitional Government, especially the seating of the full cabinet and the national assembly, so that a unified civil administration of the country can be established and other appropriate arrangements completed so that national elections may be held as scheduled on 7 September 1994;

7. *Calls again* on the Liberian parties to cooperate fully in the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country by the most direct routes, in accordance with the Peace Agreement;

8. *Welcomes* ECOMOG's ongoing efforts in furthering the peace process in Liberia and its commitment to ensure the safety of UNOMIL observers and civilian staff and urges the Liberian parties to continue to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of UNOMIL personnel, as well as of the personnel involved in relief operations, and strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

9. *Encourages* Member States to provide support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the Trust Fund or by providing other assistance to facilitate the sending of reinforcements by African States to ECOMOG, assist in supporting troops of participating ECOMOG countries and also assist in humanitarian and development activities, as well as the electoral process;

10. *Commends* the efforts made by Member States and humanitarian organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance;

11. *Welcomes* the continued efforts by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to promote and facilitate dialogue among all parties concerned;

12. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
23 May 1994

At the 3378th meeting of the Security Council, held on 23 May 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item "The situation in Liberia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the members:

The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Liberia dated 18 May 1994 (S/1994/588).

In this connection, the Council notes with satisfaction the full installation of the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG), as well as indications that the transitional government has begun to assume its responsibilities and functions throughout the country.

The Council commends the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) for their contributions to the demobilization and disarmament efforts in Liberia, a critical requirement of the Cotonou Agreement.

The Council notes with concern, however, the continued fighting among and within factions. Political differences and renewed violence among and within certain factions have caused the disarmament process to come to a virtual halt. The ongoing hostilities make it very difficult for UNOMIL to accomplish critical elements of its mandate and prevent the peace-keeping troops of the Cease-Fire Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOMOG) from carrying out their functions regarding disarmament and demobilization, a situation which directly threatens the ability of the parties to maintain the timetable outlined in the Cotonou Agreement and the communiqué of 15 February 1994.

In the light of these developments, the Council calls upon the parties to resolve their differences within the forum of the transitional government and the Cotonou Agreement, to end any hostilities and to accelerate the

pace of disarmament with the aim of bringing it to a successful conclusion, all of which are crucial to creating suitable conditions for elections. The Council wishes to remind the parties of the importance it attaches to the holding of those elections on 7 September 1994.

The Council reaffirms its intention to review the situation in Liberia again on or before 30 June 1994 including the role played by UNOMIL, such review to include whether sufficient progress has been made in implementing the revised timetable of the Peace Agreement to warrant continued UNOMIL involvement, in particular, the effective operation of the Liberian National Transitional Government, progress in carrying out disarmament and demobilization, and preparations for the holding of elections on 7 September 1994. In accordance with the terms of its resolution 911 of 21 April 1994, the Council requests the Secretary-General to prepare options by 30 June 1994 regarding the future implementation of UNOMIL's mandate and its continued operations.

The Council reminds the parties that the ultimate responsibility for the success of the peace process in Liberia rests with them and with the Liberian people. It urges them to respect fully the terms of the Cotonou Agreement and reaffirms its expectation that the parties will continue to make every effort to achieve a lasting peace in Liberia.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
13 July 1994

At the 3404th meeting of the Security Council, held on 13 July 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on Liberia dated 24 June 1994 (S/1994/760). On the basis of this report, as well as the oral briefing provided by the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Liberia, the Council has carried out a review of the situation in Liberia, including the role played by the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) as called for in resolution 911 (1994).

In this context, the Council notes that, since the interim review in May 1994, there has been limited progress in the peace process and that the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) has been unable to extend its authority effectively outside the Monrovia area. The Council notes further with concern that preparations for national elections have been hampered by the continued fighting and the consequent virtual halt of the disarmament process. It underscores that until the disarmament process is substantially accomplished the holding of free and fair elections will not be possible. It reiterates, nevertheless, the need to make urgent preparations to enable the timely holding of free and fair elections. To this end, a substantial acceleration of the disarmament process is essential. It notes that continued delay may have an adverse effect on international participation in the Liberian peace process.

The Council, therefore, calls on the LNTG, in cooperation with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Organization of African Unity, with the support of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and UNOMIL as necessary, to convene a meeting of the Liberian factions concerned to address the problems affecting disarmament. The Council considers that the objectives of such a meeting should be to agree on a realistic plan to resume disarmament and to set a target date for its completion. The Council calls on the LNTG to convene the meeting as soon as possible, at the latest by 31 July 1994. The Council stresses the importance it places on the Liberian factions concerned attending such a meeting.

The Council further calls upon all factions in Liberia to demonstrate the resolve and commitment necessary to achieve national reconciliation.

The Council expresses its concern about the increase in military activities being carried out in violation of the general cease-fire and the consequent large-scale displacement of persons and atrocities which have been committed throughout the country. The Council condemns all those who initiate fighting and who violate international humanitarian law.

The Council strongly deplores attacks on and the abduction and harassment of United Nations and ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) personnel in Liberia, as well as looting of United Nations and ECOMOG property. It demands that such hostile acts cease forthwith.

The Council urges the Liberian parties to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of UNOMIL and ECOMOG personnel, as well as of the personnel involved in relief operations, and strictly to abide by the applicable rules of international humanitarian law. It demands that all factions in Liberia extend full cooperation to organizations engaged in the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

The Council commends the positive role of ECOWAS in its continued efforts to facilitate peace and security in Liberia, including through the provision of ECOMOG troops. It welcomes the continued close cooperation between ECOMOG and UNOMIL.

The Council also commends other African States that have provided troops to ECOMOG and those Member States that have contributed to the trust fund established pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 866 (1993) or provided other assistance in support of the troops. However, the Council expresses its concern that sufficient financial and other support for the ECOMOG troops has not yet been forthcoming despite the importance of their continued presence in the Liberian peace process. The Council calls on all Member States urgently to consider providing financial or material support either through the United Nations trust fund or on a bilateral basis to enable ECOMOG to fulfil its responsibilities in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement.

The Council commends the Secretary-General for the priority given to reporting on violations of international humanitarian law and other atrocities and encourages continued attention to these aspects of the situation in Liberia.

The Council requests the Secretary-General to ensure that all information on cease-fire and arms embargo violations obtained by UNOMIL, in pursuit of its mandate, is made promptly available to the Security Council and publicized more widely as appropriate.

The Council expresses concern at problems encountered by the LNTG in extending its authority outside the Monrovia area, and requests the Secretary-General to explore, in consultation with ECOWAS, whether there are any steps which might be taken to facilitate LNTG's efforts in this regard.

The Council urges ECOWAS to continue its efforts to help the Liberian parties make substantial progress towards a political settlement in the country.

The Council requests the Secretary-General to report on the situation in Liberia by 2 September 1994 and to consider in that report whether the meeting on disarmament has resulted in a realistic plan for disarmament and whether implementation of such a plan has begun. The report should also provide options for the size and mandate of UNOMIL that reflect the outcome of the meeting and the progress in implementing the disarmament plan.

The Council will remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
13 September 1994

At the 3424th meeting of the Security Council, held on 13 September 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council strongly condemns the detention and mistreatment of 43 unarmed military observers of

the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and 6 non-governmental organizations (NGO) staff, which are in flagrant violation of international humanitarian law as well as of the Cotonou Agreement. It demands that those responsible release immediately the detained personnel and return their property and that of UNOMIL and humanitarian organizations. It urges all parties to observe strictly the Cotonou Agreement and to ensure the safety, security and freedom of movement of UNOMIL, other United Nations personnel and those of humanitarian organizations.

The Security Council requests the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to ensure that the Economic Community Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) continues to extend protection to the extent possible to UNOMIL personnel, in accordance with the exchange of letters of 7 October 1993 between the Secretary-General and the Chairman of ECOWAS defining the respective roles and responsibilities of the two missions in Liberia. It calls upon the international community to assist ECOWAS with the necessary resources to enable ECOMOG to fulfil its mandate effectively throughout Liberia.

The Security Council is following closely the situation in Liberia and in this connection welcomes the ongoing efforts, in particular those of the President of Ghana as Chairman of ECOWAS, to secure the release of the detained personnel.

RESOLUTION 950 (1994)
21 October 1994

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993, 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993 and 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994,

Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General dated 18 May 1994 (S/1994/588), 24 June 1994 (S/1994/760), 26 August 1994 (S/1994/1006) and 14 October 1994 (S/1994/1167) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Commending the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Commending also the initiative taken by the President of Ghana, in his capacity as current Chairman of ECOWAS, to reactivate the peace process and find a durable solution to the conflict,

Noting the recommendations of the Liberian National Conference and ***stressing*** the importance it attaches to strengthening the authority of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) in administering the country,

Commending those African States that have contributed troops to ECOWAS's Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), and those Member States that have contributed to the Trust Fund or by providing other assistance in support of ECOMOG,

Commending also ECOMOG for its role in quelling an attempted *coup d'etat* against the LNTG in Monrovia,

Deeply concerned at the breakdown in the cease-fire, the severe deterioration in the security situation and the impact this is having on the civilian population of Liberia, particularly in rural areas, as well as on the ability of humanitarian agencies to provide emergency relief,

Expressing grave concern at the level of factional and ethnic warfare now prevailing in much of Liberia,

Stressing the importance it attaches to the achievement of an effective cease-fire as a necessary pre-condition for progress in the peace process and the holding of national elections,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 14 October 1994, and his intention to send a high-level mission to consult with ECOWAS member States on how the international community can best continue to assist the peace process in Liberia;

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 13 January 1995;

3. Recognizes that circumstances on the ground warranted the Secretary-General's decision to reduce the strength of UNOMIL, and ***considers*** that any decision to return it to the authorized level will depend on consideration by the Security Council of a further report from the Secretary-General reflecting a real improvement in the situation on the ground, in particular the security situation;

4. Calls on all factions in Liberia to cease hostilities immediately and to agree to a timetable for disengagement of forces, disarmament and demobilization;

5. Further calls on the LNTG and all Liberians to seek political accommodation and national reconciliation and to work with the Chairman of ECOWAS and with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to achieve a durable settlement;

6. Calls once again upon all States strictly to abide by and comply with the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter;

7. Condemns the widespread killings of civilians and other violations of international humanitarian law by the factions in Liberia, and the detention and maltreatment of UNOMIL observers, ECOMOG soldiers, humanitarian relief workers and other international personnel and ***demands*** that all the factions strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

8. Demands that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel, and those of other international organizations and humanitarian relief agencies working in Liberia, refrain from any acts of violence, abuse or intimidation against them and return forthwith equipment seized from them;

9. Urges Member States to provide support for the peace process in Liberia through the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, in order to enable ECOMOG to fulfil its mandate;

10. Commends the efforts of Member States and humanitarian organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance, including to Liberian refugees in neighbouring countries, and ***calls on*** all factions in Liberia to cooperate fully in creating the conditions necessary for the delivery of humanitarian assistance to all in need in Liberia;

11. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council well in advance of the end of the current mandate period with recommendations as to the future role of UNOMIL, in the light of developments in the peace process and in the situation on the ground and the recommendations of his high-level mission;

12. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 972 (1995)
13 January 1995

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993, 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993 and 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994 and 950 (1994) of 21 October 1994,

Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General dated 18 May 1994 (S/1994/588), 24 June 1994 (S/1994/760), 26 August 1994 (S/1994/1006), 14 October 1994 (S/1994/1167) and 6 January 1995 (S/1995/9) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Viewing with appreciation the diplomatic achievement of the current chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, in bringing together the factions leaders of Liberia to sign the Accra Agreement, (S/1995/7) on 21 December 1994, which builds upon the Yamoussoukro, Cotonou and Akosombo agreements and includes a timetable for the implementation of its provisions,

Commending once again the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which has played a crucial role in the search for a peaceful solution to the Liberian conflict,

Commending also those African States that have contributed troops to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), and those Member States that have provided assistance in support of the peace negotiations and the peace-keeping forces, including contributions to the Trust Fund for Liberia,

Expressing the hope that a summit of the ECOWAS States will be convened at the earliest possible date to harmonize their policies on Liberia and promote implementation of the Accra Agreement, including tightening the application of the arms embargo,

Taking note with concern that there has been a continuing inflow of arms in Liberia in violation of the existing arms embargo, which has further destabilized the situation in Liberia,

Deeply concerned that the humanitarian situation in Liberia has worsened due to the lack of security in the country and the resulting inability of national and international relief organizations to function effectively,

Calling on the Liberian leaders and factions to demonstrate their commitment to the peace process by maintaining the cease-fire, which came into effect on 28 December 1994, recommitting themselves to the disarmament process and implementing without delay all provisions of the Accra Agreement,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 6 January 1995;

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 13 April 1995;

3. Expresses deep concern at the failure of the Liberian parties so far to reach agreement on the composition of the Council of State as stipulated in the Accra Agreement at the recent talks in Accra and ***calls upon*** them to work together to implement the Accra Agreement by upholding the cease-fire, resuming disarmament and demobilization of combatants and implementing the other relevant aspects of the agreement in accordance with the timetable, including the prompt installation of the New Council of State;

4. Requests that the Secretary-General base any decision to return UNOMIL and its civilian staff to the level authorized under resolution 866 (1993) on the existence of an effective cease-fire and on the ability of UNOMIL to carry out its mandate;

5. Further requests that the Secretary-General report to the Security Council on the situation in Liberia, on the role of UNOMIL and of ECOMOG, including on the needs of ECOWAS States to maintain their troops in ECOMOG, on or before 1 March 1995;

6. Reminds all Member States of their obligation strictly to abide by and comply with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992);

7. Demands once more, that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel, and those of organizations and personnel delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia

and further demands that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

8. Urges Member States to provide support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and by providing financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the troops participating in ECOMOG in order to enable ECOMOG to deploy fully and to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to encampment and disarmament of the Liberian factions;

9. Requests, in this regard, the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to obtain financial and logistical resources from Member States;

10. Commends the efforts made by Member States and humanitarian organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance and especially the efforts of neighbouring countries to assist Liberian refugees;

11. Commends also the ongoing efforts of ECOWAS to further the Liberian peace process, and the commitment of ECOMOG to ensure the safety of UNOMIL military observers and civilian staff;

12. Welcomes the tireless efforts by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to promote the cause of peace in Liberia;

13. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 985 (1995)
13 April 1995

Adopted by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993, 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993, 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994, 950 (1994) of 21 October 1994 and 972 (1995) of 13 January 1995,

Recalling also its resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, in which it decided, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purpose of establishing peace and stability in Liberia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia until the Security Council decides otherwise, and in which it decided also that the embargo shall not apply to weapons and military equipment destined for the sole use of the peace-keeping forces of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Liberia, subject to any review that may be required in conformity with the report of the Secretary-General,

Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General dated 24 February 1995 (S/1995/158) and 10 April 1995 (S/1995/279) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Deeply concerned that the cease-fire in Liberia has broken down, precluding the full deployment of UNOMIL and preventing UNOMIL from fully carrying out its mandate,

Noting with deep concern that in violation of resolution 788 (1992) arms continue to be imported into Liberia, exacerbating the conflict,

Welcoming the decision of ECOWAS to hold a summit of Heads of State in May 1995,

1. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 30 June 1995;

2. Urges all Liberian parties to implement the Akosombo Agreement (S/1994/1174) and the Accra Agreement (S/1995/7) by re-establishing an effective cease-fire, promptly installing the Council of State, and taking concrete steps towards the implementation of the other provisions of the Agreements;

3. Encourages the ECOWAS States to promote implementation of the Akosombo and Accra Agreements, and to continue to do all in their power to facilitate a political settlement in Liberia;

4. Urges all States, and in particular all neighbouring States, to comply fully with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992), and to that end ***decides*** to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Security Council, consisting of all the members of the Council, to undertake the following tasks and to report on its work to the Council with its observations and recommendations:

(a) To seek from all States information regarding the action taken by them concerning the effective implementation of the embargo imposed by paragraph 8 of resolution 788 (1992);

(b) To consider any information brought to its attention by States concerning violations of the embargo, and in that context to make recommendations to the Council on ways of increasing the effectiveness of the embargo;

(c) To recommend appropriate measures in response to violations of the embargo imposed by paragraph 8 of resolution 788 (1992) and provide information on a regular basis to the Secretary-General for general distribution to Member States;

5. Expresses its appreciation to the Chairman of ECOWAS for his initiative in organizing a regional summit on Liberia and to the Government of Nigeria for agreeing to host it, and ***urges*** all parties to participate;

6. Demands once more that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of personnel of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and UNOMIL, and those of organizations and personnel delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia and ***further demands*** that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council by 15 June 1995 on the situation in Liberia, including whether there is an effective cease-fire and whether UNOMIL can carry out its mandate, and on the status of contributions of financial and logistical resources from the international community in support of the troops participating in ECOMOG, and ***notes*** that the Council will consider the future of UNOMIL in the light of the Secretary-General's report;

8. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

ANNEX

LETTER DATED 6 AUGUST 1993 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF BENIN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

(S/26272, 9 August 1993)

In transmitting to you the Cotonou Agreement relating to the situation in Liberia, I have the honour to request, on instructions from my Government, that you arrange for it to be circulated as a United Nations document, more specifically as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ayité J. C. KRAKPO
Chargé d'affaires a.i.
Deputy Permanent Representative

Annex
AGREEMENT

THIS AGREEMENT is made this twenty-fifth day of July one thousand nine hundred and ninety-three —

BETWEEN THE Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU) of the first part and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) of the second part and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) of the third part.

PART I
MILITARY ISSUES
SECTION A
Article 1
DECLARATION

1. The Parties to this Agreement hereby agree and declare a cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities — to become effective at the date and time and on the conditions stipulated in article 2 and section C below.

2. The Parties further declare that all parties or groups within and without the perimeter of Liberia shall refrain from act(s) or activity(ies) that may violate or facilitate the violation of the cease-fire.

Article 2
EFFECTIVE DATE

The Parties also agree that the cease-fire stated hereinabove and the cessation of hostilities shall take effect seven days from the date of signing of this Agreement, commencing at 12 midnight.

SECTION B
Article 3
SUPERVISORY AND MONITORING AUTHORITY

1. The ECOMOG and the United Nations Observer Mission shall supervise and monitor the implementation of this Agreement. The Parties hereby expressly recognize the neutrality and authority of the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) and the United Nations Observer Mission in respect of the foregoing. Accordingly, the ECOMOG and United Nations observers shall enjoy complete freedom of movement throughout Liberia.

2. By "ECOMOG Peace-keeping Force" is meant an expanded ECOMOG which includes the forces of ECOWAS Member States and African troops from outside the West African region.

3. The Parties agree further that in order to monitor and ensure against any violation of the cease-fire between the period of the effective date of the cease-fire and the arrival of ECOMOG and full contingent of the United Nations Observer Mission, a Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee is hereby established, which shall have the authority to monitor, investigate and report all cease-fire violations. The Committee shall comprise an equal number of representatives from each of the parties hereto, ECOMOG and an advance team of the United Nations Observer Mission. Each group of the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee shall be chaired by the United Nations observer in the group. It shall freely

travel throughout the country. This Committee shall automatically be dissolved and deemed to be dissolved upon the arrival and deployment of ECOMOG and the full contingent of the United Nations Observer Mission.

SECTION C
Article 4
TERMS AND CONDITIONS

The Parties hereby state further that they have agreed to the cease-fire stipulated above on the following terms and conditions:

1. Prohibitions upon the Parties:

The Parties agree not to:

(a) Import any weapons and war-like materials by any means into Liberia;

(b) Use the period of the cease-fire to engage in any military build-up whether in manpower or armaments; or

(c) Engage in any other activity that would violate or result in the violation of the cease-fire.

2. Adherence to stipulations on military embargo

The Parties recognize and accept that the military embargo imposed on and upon all warring parties by ECOWAS and the United Nations Security Council shall remain in full force and effect.

3. Creation of buffer zones

ECOMOG shall create zones or otherwise seal the borders, whichever is militarily feasible, of Liberia-Guinea, Liberia-Sierra Leone and Liberia-Côte d'Ivoire to prevent cross-border attacks, infiltration or importation of arms. There shall be deployed United Nations observers in all of such zones to monitor, verify and report on any and all of the foregoing and the implementation thereof.

4. Monitoring and supervision of entry points

All points of entry including, sea ports, airfields and roads shall be monitored and supervised by ECOMOG. There shall be deployed United Nations observers to monitor, verify and report on the implementation of the foregoing activities.

5. Position of warring parties at declaration of cease-fire

The warring parties shall remain and maintain their positions held as at the effective date of this cease-fire, until the commencement of encampment.

SECTION D
Article 5
ACTS OF VIOLATION

1. The Parties hereto hereby agree to honour every and all provisions of this Agreement, and stipulate that any party committing any acts of violations shall be held liable for such violations.

2. The following acts shall constitute violation of the cease-fire:

(a) Importation of arms and ammunition, incendiary devices and other war-related items;

(b) Changing or improvement of existing positions or fortification or alteration of existing positions;

(c) Attack (whether with conventional or unconventional weapons) against the position of any warring faction by another, or firing at an individual of a warring faction established to have been carried out at the instance of the authority of the warring party to which he/she belongs;

(d) The systematic use of conventional or unconventional weapons (i.e. knives, cutlasses, bows and arrows, etc.);

(e) Recruitment and training of combatants and/or groups of persons after the effective date of this Agreement;

(f) Any proven use of communication devices, facilities or propaganda designed to incite or having the effect of inciting hostilities between any of the warring parties;

(g) Planting of mines and incendiary devices subsequent to the effective date of the cease-fire; refusal to disclose

the existence of or places where such devices or mines have been planted; and deliberate failure to cooperate or furnish maps (where available) where such devices have been planted;

(h) Obstruction of the implementation of any of the provisions of the Agreement by any party or its authorized agent;

(i) Harassments or attacks upon ECOMOG, the United Nations Observer Mission or the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee;

(j) Obstructions of the activities of ECOMOG, United Nations observers and the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee.

SECTION E
Article 6
DISARMAMENT

Disarmament being the ultimate objective of the cease-fire, the Parties hereto agree and express their intent and willingness to disarm to and under the supervision of ECOMOG, monitored and verified by the United Nations Observer Mission. In conformity therewith, the parties agree that:

1. All weapons and warlike materials collected shall be stored by ECOMOG in armouries designated by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers.

2. All weapons and warlike materials in the possession of the parties shall be given to ECOMOG, monitored by United Nations observers, upon appropriate recording and inventory, and placed in designated armouries.

3. Said armouries shall be secured by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers, upon proper documentation or inventory of all weapons and warlike materials received.

4. Each of the warring factions shall ensure that its combatants report all weapons and warlike materials to ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers, upon proper inventory. Such weapons and warlike materials, upon inventory, shall be taken to the designated armouries by ECOMOG, under the monitoring and verification of United Nations observers.

5. All non-combatants who are in possession of weapons and warlike materials shall also report and surrender same to ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers. Such weapons and warlike materials shall be returned to the owners after due registration, licensing and certification by the governing authority after the elections.

6. ECOMOG shall have the authority to disarm any combatant or non-combatant in possession of weapons and warlike materials. The United Nations observers shall monitor all such activities.

7. For the sole purpose of maintaining the cease-fire, ECOMOG shall conduct any search to recover lost or hidden weapons, observed and monitored by the United Nations observers.

SECTION F
Article 7
ENCAMPMENT

1. Purpose

(a) The Parties agree and fully commit themselves to the encampment of their combatants in encampment centres established by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers, the purpose of which shall be, in addition to the disarmament and demobilization, to serve as a transit point for the further education, training and rehabilitation of said combatants; and

(b) Consistent with the above, the parties agree to submit to ECOMOG and the United Nations observers, a complete listing of their combatants and weapons and warlike materials and their locations to the nearest encampment centres.

2. Commencement of encampment

The Parties agree that encampment shall commence immediately upon the deployment of ECOMOG and the United Nations Observer Mission. Copies of the

schedule of encampment shall be furnished to all the parties hereto.

3. Identification and security of encampment sites

In consultation with the Parties, ECOMOG and the United Nations Observer Mission shall identify locations for encampment. Security of encampment sites shall be provided by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers.

SECTION G
Article 8
PEACE ENFORCEMENT POWERS

1. It is also agreed upon that ECOMOG shall have the right to self-defence where it has been physically attacked by any warring faction hereto.

2. There shall be established, upon deployment of ECOMOG and the full contingent of the United Nations Observer Mission, a Violation Committee consisting of one person from each of the parties hereto and ECOMOG and the United Nations Observer Mission, chaired by a member of the United Nations Observer Mission.

3. All violations of the cease-fire shall be reported to the United Nations Observer Mission/observers who shall, immediately upon receipt of the information of violation, commence an investigation and make findings thereof. In the event the violations can be cured by the United Nations observers, they shall pursue such a course. However, should such a course not be possible, the United Nations observers shall submit their findings to the Violation Committee. The Violation Committee shall invite the violating party/(ies) for the purpose of having such party/(ies) take corrective measures to cure the violations within such time-frame as may be stipulated by the Committee. Should the violating party not take the required corrective measures, ECOMOG shall be informed thereof and shall thereupon resort to the use of its peace-enforcement powers against the violator.

SECTION H
Article 9
DEMOBILIZATION

1. The Parties hereby agree that any warring faction or factions that may have non-Liberian fighters or mercenaries shall repatriate such persons, or when found, upon evidence, shall be expelled by the Government of the Republic of Liberia.

2. Further, the Parties hereby call upon the United Nations, other international organizations and countries, to programme and finance the process of demobilization, retraining, rehabilitation and re-absorption of all former combatants to normal social and community life.

3. It is agreed by the Parties hereto that each party shall immediately commence a community information or educational programme, explaining to the public by means of communication devices or any form of media, the essence and purpose of the cease-fire, encampment, disarmament and demobilization. Such programme shall include other social institutions.

SECTION I
Article 10
PRISONERS-OF-WAR

The Parties hereby agree that upon signing of this Agreement all prisoners-of-war and detainees shall be immediately released to the Red Cross authority in an area where such prisoners or detainees are detained, for onward transmission to encampment sites or the authority of the prisoner-of-war or detainee. Common criminals are not covered by this provision.

SECTION J
Article 11
SUBMISSION BY PARTIES TO AUTHORITY OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

Consistent with the provisions of paragraph 5 of article 14 of this Agreement, all Parties agree to submit themselves to the authority of the Transitional Government.

SECTION K
Article 12
SCHEDULE OF IMPLEMENTATION

Schedules of implementation of this Agreement, including a schedule for disarmament, encampment and demobilization of combatants, shall be drawn by ECOMOG and the United Nations observers. This schedule of implementation shall be given to each of the warring parties prior to implementation. The Parties undertake that they will create no obstacles to the full implementation of any of the foregoing activities.

PART II
Political Issues
SECTION A
Article 13
REVIEW AND REAFFIRMATION OF THE YAMOUSSOUKRO ACCORDS

The Parties to this Agreement reaffirm that the Yamoussoukro Accords provide the best framework for peace in Liberia, noting the links between the ECOWAS peace plan and the Yamoussoukro Accords.

SECTION B
Article 14
STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

1. The Parties observe that Liberia is a unitary State and as such agree to form a single transitional Government, styled THE LIBERIA NATIONAL TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. The authority of the transitional Government shall extend throughout the territorial limits of the Republic of Liberia.

2. The mandate of the transitional Government is to provide essential government services during the transitional period and to also hold and supervise general and presidential elections in accordance with the ECOWAS peace plan. The Transitional Legislature Assembly or the Council of State shall have power to enact or cause to be enacted any rule(s), regulation(s) or law, or take any action(s) which may facilitate the holding of free and fair democratic elections.

3. Formal installation of the Council of State shall take place in Monrovia, the capital city of the Republic of Liberia, and the Council of State shall also be permanently headquartered there.

4. The Parties further agree that the aforesaid transitional Government shall be selected in accordance with the below listed provisions and installed in approximately thirty (30) days of the date of signature of this Agreement, concomitant with the commencement of the disarmament process. Upon the installation of the transitional government, both IGNU and NPRAG shall cease to exist and shall be deemed dissolved.

5. The Parties further agree that the transitional Government shall operate as closely as practicable under the Constitution and laws of Liberia.

6. The Parties further agree, warrant and promise that from the date of signature of this Agreement, no loans shall be negotiated or contracted in the name of or on behalf of the Liberian Government except to ensure the carrying out of the operations and activities of governmental and other public services. All financial transactions entered into by the Transitional Government shall be formally submitted to the Transitional Legislative Assembly for ratification.

7. The Parties also agree that the transitional Government shall have three branches: legislative, executive and judicial.

Executive

(i) The Parties further agree that, during the transitional period, the executive powers of the Republic shall be vested in a five (5)-member Council of State which is hereby established. Each of the Parties shall appoint one (1) member to the Council, whilst the remaining two (2) shall be selected in accordance with the following procedure:

Each of the Parties shall nominate three (3) eminent Liberians who together shall select two (2) of their number to be additional members of the Council.

(ii) Each Party shall submit the name of its appointee to the Council and also the names of its three (3) nominees in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph to the office of the current Chairman of ECOWAS within a period of seven (7) days from the date of signature of this Agreement. Copies of the list of these names shall also be forwarded to each of the Parties.

(iii) The Parties shall, not later than three (3) days from submission of the aforesaid names, jointly and mutually determine the time and venue for the selection of the two (2) additional members of the Council. This entire selection process shall not exceed ten (10) days after the determination of the time and place of the meeting. If at the appointed place and time, any of the nominees fail to appear, the nominating party shall forfeit its right to renominate any other person(s), and the selection process shall proceed.

(iv) Proof of the selection of the two additional Council members shall be made by a written statement signed by all the nominees (excluding the two nominees selected) who participated in the selection process confirming same. The statement shall be forwarded to the current Chairman of ECOWAS with copy to each of the Parties.

(v) The Council shall select from amongst its members a Chairman and two (2) Vice-Chairmen.

(vi) The Council shall conduct and be responsible for the day-to-day operation of Government. All decisions shall be made by consensus of all the members.

(vii) The Council shall also devise and implement appropriate procedural rules in respect of its operation.

(viii) The Parties shall, in consultation with each other, determine the allocation of cabinet posts.

Judicial

8. The Parties further agree that for purposes of continuity, there shall be no change in the existing structure of the Supreme Court. ULIMO shall have the right to nominate the fifth member of the Court to fill the vacancy which currently exists. The nominee by ULIMO to the Supreme Court shall meet the established criteria and successfully undergo a screening by his or her peers in the Court.

Legislature

9. The Parties agree that the Transitional Legislative Assembly shall be a unicameral body composed of thirty-five (35) members. Both IGNU and NPFL shall each be entitled to thirteen (13) members, and ULIMO nine (9) members. The Parties agree that ULIMO shall have the right to nominate the Speaker from one of its members in the Assembly.

SECTION C
Article 15
ELECTIONS MODALITIES

1. The Parties agree that, in order to enhance the inclusive nature of the transitional Government, ULIMO shall have the right to nominate two members to the Elections Commission, thus expanding the existing Elections Commission to seven (7) members. For the purpose of continuity the present structure shall remain the same.

2. Supreme Court: The Supreme Court shall adjudicate all matters arising out of the elections during the transition, in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the country.

3. Voters registration: Voters Registration shall commence as soon as possible having due regard for the need to expedite repatriation.

4. Observers and Monitors: The transitional Government and the Elections Commission will work out the modalities for the participation of observers and monitors in the electoral process.

5. Financing: Financing will be sought from the national and international communities.

6. The Parties agree that the elections to be conducted shall conform to the several United Nations and internationally accepted codes of conduct and the Elections Commission shall, accordingly be guided thereby.

SECTION D
Article 16
TENURE AND MANDATE OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

1. The transitional Government shall be installed approximately one month after the signing of this Agreement, concomitant with the commencement of the disarmament process.

2. The transitional Government shall have a life span of approximately six (6) months commencing from the date of its installation.

3. General and presidential elections shall take place approximately seven (7) months from the signature of this Agreement.

4. Holders of positions of leadership within the Transitional Government (i.e. members of the Council of State, Supreme Court Justice; members of the Elections Commission, Cabinet Ministers, members of the Transitional Legislative Assembly, Managing Directors or Heads of Public Corporations and Autonomous Agencies) shall be ineligible to contest the election provided for in paragraph 3 of this article.

SECTION E
Article 17
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

The Parties agree that every effort should be made to deliver humanitarian assistance to all Liberians, particularly children, who are malnourished and suffering from related diseases. Convoys of humanitarian assistance should travel to all areas of Liberia through the most direct routes, under inspection to ensure compliance with the sanctions and embargo provisions of this Agreement.

SECTION F
Article 18
REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES

1. The Parties hereby commit themselves immediately and permanently to bring to an end any further external or internal displacement of Liberians and to create the conditions that will allow all refugees and displaced persons to, respectively, voluntarily repatriate and return to Liberia to their places of origin or habitual residence under conditions of safety and dignity.

2. The Parties further call upon Liberian refugees and displaced persons to return to Liberia and to their places of origin or habitual residence and declare that they shall not be jeopardized in any ethnic, political, religious, regional or geographical considerations.

3. The Parties also call upon the relevant organizations of the United Nations system, particularly the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations Development Programme, other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, to implement programmes for the voluntary repatriation, return and reintegration of the Liberian refugees and internally displaced persons.

4. The Parties proclaim that they shall, jointly or individually, cooperate in all necessary ways with themselves and with the above-mentioned organizations in order to facilitate the repatriation, return and reintegration of the refugees and displaced persons. Amongst others, they agree to:

(a) Establish all necessary mechanisms or arrangements, such as joint repatriation committees, which would facilitate contacts, communications and work with the relevant organizations for purposes of implementing the repatriation, return and reintegration operation and to enable effective decision-making and implementation of the relevant activities;

(b) Facilitate access by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other organizations to the refugees and displaced persons who have returned so as to deliver the necessary humanitarian assistance and programmes and monitor their situation;

(c) Guarantee and provide security to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the other relevant organizations, their staff, vehicles,

equipment and resources necessary to carry out their work;

(d) Provide all other necessary facilities and support that will be necessary to facilitate the implementation of the return, voluntary repatriation and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons.

SECTION 6
Article 19
GENERAL AMNESTY

The Parties hereby agree that upon the execution of this Agreement there shall be a general amnesty granted to all persons and parties involved in the Liberian civil conflict in the course of actual military engagements. Accordingly, acts committed by the Parties or by their forces while in actual combat or on authority of any of the Parties in the course of actual combat are hereby granted amnesty. Similarly, the Parties agree that business transactions legally carried out by any of the Parties hereto with private business institutions in accordance with the laws of Liberia shall in like manner be covered by the amnesty herein granted.

DONE AT COTONOU, REPUBLIC OF BENIN, IN SEVEN ORIGINAL COPIES

THIS TWENTY-FIFTH DAY OF JULY 1993

(Signed) Amos Claudius SAYWER
President of the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia, for and on behalf of the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU)

(Signed) Enoch DOGOLEA
Vice-President of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, for and on behalf of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL/NPRAG)

(Signed) Major-General Alhaji G. V. KROMAH
Leader of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy, for and on behalf of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)

(Signed) His Excellency Nicephore Dieudonne SOGLO
President of the Republic of Benin and Current Chairman of ECOWAS

(Signed) Dr. James O. C. JONAH
Under-Secretary-General, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations Secretariat, for and on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations

(Signed) Rev. Canaan BANANA
OAU Eminent Person for Liberia, for and on behalf of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity

LETTER DATED 14 OCTOBER 1994 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF GHANA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/1994/1174, 16 October 1994)

Upon instructions from my Government, I transmit herewith the text of the Akosombo agreement made and entered into on 12 September 1994, between the three warring factions in Liberia, namely the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) represented by and through its leader Mr. Charles G. Taylor; the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), represented by and through its leader, Lt.-Gen. Alhaji G. V. Kromah; and the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), represented by and through its Chief of Staff, Lt.-Gen. J. Hezekiah Bowen, at Akosombo, Ghana.

It would be appreciated if you could circulate this agreement as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) George O. LAMPTEY
Permanent Representative

Annex
AKOSOMBO AGREEMENT

This Agreement, which supplements and amends the Cotonou Agreement, is made and entered into on this 12th day of September 1994 by and between the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), represented by and through its leader Charles G. Taylor (hereinafter referred to as "the party of the first part"), the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), represented by and through its leader Lt. Gen. Alhaji G. V. Kromah (hereinafter referred to as "the party of the second part"), and the Armed Forces of Liberia represented by and through its Chief of Staff Lt.-

Gen. J. Hezekiah Bowen (hereinafter referred to as "the party of the third part"), hereby:

WITNESSETH:

PREAMBLE

NPFL, ULIMO and AFL reaffirm their acceptance of the Cotonou agreement as the framework for peace in Liberia. However, having realized the slow pace in the full implementation of the Cotonou agreement, resulting from the failure of disarmament and the inability of the Liberia National Transitional Government (LNTG) to achieve the objective of its mandate within a six-month period as set forth under section B, article 14 (2), of the said Cotonou agreement: and

Having noted with grave concern the protracted human suffering and the undue hardships to which the people of Liberia (inside and outside the country) have been overly subjected as a result of the senseless Liberian civil crisis: and

Having realized the urgent need to bring this ugly civil crisis to an immediate and lasting end:

Do hereby agree to the following:

Part I
MILITARY ISSUES
Declaration
SECTION A
Article 1

Count 1 is amended to read as follows:

The parties to this agreement hereby agree and declare a cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities effective as of the signing of this amendment.

SECTION B
Article 3
SUPERVISORY AND MONITORING AUTHORITY

Count 1 is amended to read: That the Liberia National Transitional Government, the Economic Community of West African States Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) and the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) in collaboration shall supervise and monitor the implementation of this Agreement.

The parties hereby expressly recognize the neutrality and authority of ECOMOG and UNOMIL in respect of the foregoing.

Accordingly, the Liberia National Transitional Government shall ensure that ECOMOG and UNOMIL shall enjoy complete freedom of movement throughout Liberia.

SECTION C
Article 4
TERMS AND CONDITIONS

Count 4 is amended to read: The Liberia National Transitional Government, in collaboration with ECOMOG and UNOMIL, shall ensure that all points of entry, including sea ports, airfields and roads, shall be monitored and supervised.

Count 5 is amended to read: The warring parties shall undertake to disengage and move to designated assembly points within the time-frame in the schedule to be attached to this document.

Count 6: That the Liberia National Transitional Government shall enter into a status-of-forces agreement with ECOWAS within 30 days from the signing of this Agreement.

Count 7: That the existing status-of-mission agreement already executed with the United Nations (UNOMIL) is herein incorporated by reference and is applicable.

SECTION D
Article 5
ACTS OF VIOLATION

Count 2 is amended to read: The following acts shall constitute violations of the Agreement:

Subsection (b): Any change or improvement of existing positions aimed at acquiring territory.

Subsection (c): Any deliberate discharge (whether with conventional or unconventional weapons) against the

position of any warring party by another, or firing at any individual or property or any seizure or abduction of individuals and properties.

Subsection (f): While the right to communication shall not be abridged, any proven use of communication devices, facilities or propaganda designed to incite or having the effect of inciting hostilities between any of the warring parties.

Subsection (h): Obstruction of the implementation of any of the provisions of the Agreement by any party and/or individual.

Subsection (i): Harassments, intimidations, or attacks upon any official of the Liberia National Transitional Government, relief organizations, ECOMOG, UNOMIL, the Cease-fire Violations Committee as well as individuals.

Subsection (j): Obstruction of the activities of the Liberia National Transitional Government, ECOMOG, UNOMIL and the Cease-fire Violations Committee.

Subsection (k): The facilitation or creation of new or splinter armed groups. To this end, any individual or group of individuals suspected of creating or assisting to create any new armed or splinter group or facilitating existing splinter group(s) (directly or indirectly) shall:

1. Not be recognized under the Cotonou Agreement.

2. Shall be disarmed and disbanded by ECOMOG in collaboration with the Liberia National Transitional Government verified by UNOMIL.

3. Thereafter be prosecuted under the laws of Liberia.

SECTION E
Article 6
DISARMAMENT

The introductory paragraph is hereby amended to read: the ultimate objective of disarmament under the Cotonou Agreement being primarily to create a security environment conducive to absolute peace in order to have free and fair elections in the country, NPFL, ULIMO and AFL hereby agree to disarm to ECOMOG with the cooperation of the Liberia National Transitional Government and monitored and verified by UNOMIL in accordance with the schedule to be attached to this Agreement. The parties further mandate the Liberia National Transitional Government to begin the formation of appropriate national security structures to facilitate the disarmament process. Accordingly, appropriate measures shall be undertaken to enable AFL to assume its character as a national army. Until such measures are completed, AFL, like all other parties and warring groups, shall be completely disarmed in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement. In order to ensure a secure environment for the proper functioning of the unified Government in Monrovia, the Liberia National Transitional Government, in collaboration with ECOMOG, shall ensure that no group or individuals bear arms in the perimeter of the capital. However, the personal security of the leaders of the warring parties shall be reflected in the status-of-forces agreement.

Count 4 is amended to read: Each of the warring parties shall ensure that its combatants report all weapons and warlike materials to ECOMOG, which would be inventoried by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by the Liberia National Transitional Government and UNOMIL. Upon proper inventory, such weapons and warlike materials shall be taken by ECOMOG to the designated armouries, monitored and verified by UNOMIL and the Liberia National Transitional Government.

Count 5 is amended to read: All non-combatants who are in possession of weapons and warlike materials shall also report and surrender same to ECOMOG, monitored and verified by the Liberia National Transitional Government and UNOMIL. Such weapons and warlike materials shall be returned to the owners after due registration, licensing and certification by the governing authority after elections.

Count 7 is amended to read: For the sole purpose of maintaining the cease-fire, ECOMOG shall conduct any search to recover lost or hidden weapons, observed and

monitored by UNOMIL and the Liberia National Transitional Government.

SECTION F
Article 7
ENCAMPMENT

Count 1 is amended to read: The parties agree and fully commit themselves to the encampment of their combatants, and maintenance of command and control in encampment centres, established by ECOMOG, UNOMIL and the Liberia National Transitional Government in collaboration with the parties. The encampment centres shall, in addition to disarmament and demobilization, serve as transit points for the further education, training and rehabilitation of said combatants.

SECTION G
Article 8
PEACE ENFORCEMENT POWERS

The following amendments are hereby made, to wit:

1. That in the event any party, new armed group or splinter group and/or individuals refuse to desist from acts in violation of the Agreement, the Liberia National Transitional Government, in collaboration with ECOMOG, shall have the power to use the necessary force available to compel compliance.

2. All violations of the cease-fire shall be reported to UNOMIL, which shall, on immediate receipt of the information or violation, commence an investigation and make findings thereof. In the event the violation can be cured by the party, UNOMIL shall pursue such a course. However, should such a course not be possible, UNOMIL shall submit its findings to the Cease-fire Violations Committee. The Violations Committee shall invite the violating party(ies) for the purpose of having such party(ies) take corrective measures to cure violations within such time-frame as may be stipulated by the Committee. Should the violating party not take the required corrective measures, and the use of peace enforcement powers are recommended against the violator, the Liberia National Transitional Government, in collaboration with ECOMOG, shall thereupon take the necessary action.

SECTION H
Article 9
DEMOBILIZATION

Count 2 is amended to read: Further, the parties hereby call upon the Liberia National Transitional Government, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, ECOWAS and other international organizations and countries, to design a programme which recognizes the peculiarities of the parties and finance the process of demobilization, retraining, rehabilitation and reintegration of all former combatants to normal social and community life.

Count 3 is amended to read: It is agreed that the Liberia National Transitional Government, in collaboration with the parties, shall immediately commence a community information or educational programme, explaining to the public by means of communication devices or any form of media, the essence and purpose of cease-fire, encampment, disarmament and demobilization. Such programme shall include other social institutions.

Count 4: Internal security arrangements, including police, customs and immigration, will be put in place immediately. Planning for restructuring and training of AFL will be the responsibility of the Liberia National Transitional Government, with the assistance of ECOWAS, the United Nations and friendly Governments.

SECTION K
Article 12
SCHEDULE OF IMPLEMENTATION

This article is amended to read: The attached schedule of implementation to be attached to this Agreement, including disarmament, encampment and demobilization of combatants, preparation of a status-of-forces agreement, restructuring of AFL and dissolution of the parties drawn up by ECOMOG and UNOMIL in collaboration with the Parties, shall be given to each of the

Parties prior to implementation. The Parties undertake that they will create no obstacles to the full implementation of any of the foregoing activities.

Part II
Political Issues
SECTION A

Section B, article 14 (7), is hereby amended to read thus:

EXECUTIVE

(i) The Parties further agree that, during the transitional period leading up to inauguration of an elected Government, the executive powers of the Republic shall be vested in a five-member Council of State which is hereby established. Each of the Parties (AFL, NPFL and ULIMO) shall point one member to the Council and the remaining two, representing unarmed Liberians, shall be chosen from among prominent Liberians, one appointed by the Liberian National Conference recenily convened in Monrovia and the other by NPFL and ULIMO. The designation of Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen shall be determined through a process of elections to be carried out within seven days of the signing of this Agreement. The new Council of State will be inducted under the auspices of the Chairman of ECOWAS or his representative within 14 days of the signing of this Agreement.

(ii) The Council of State shall conduct and be responsible for the day-to-day operations of government. All decisions shall be made on the basis of a simple majority.

(iii) The Council shall also devise and implement appropriate rules of procedure in respect of its operations, to be signed by all members on the occasion of their induction into office.

(iv) The Parties hereby agree that the allocation of ministries, public corporations and autonomous agencies as agreed by the Parties in Cotonou, Benin, on 3 to 5 November 1993 shall be maintained, taking into account existing factions in respect of existing vacancies. All boards of public corporations shall be constituted in accordance with the acts creating said corporations.

(v) In the case where the executive post is allocated to one party, the two deputy posts shall be allocated to the two other parties. In the case where there are more than two deputy posts in a given ministry, public corporation or autonomous agency, the Council of State shall point qualified Liberian citizens to occupy the third and/or remaining deputy posts.

(vi) The Council of State shall also exercise its executive prerogative powers to appoint qualified citizens in all other subordinate presidential appointed posts in government as may be provided by law in consultation with the parties.

(vii) Each of the parties shall have the right to review the status of its appointees in the Liberia National Transitional Government through the Council of State and any change in appointment by the Council of State should follow as closely as possible the constitutional procedures. Once appointments have been made to the Council of State changes can be effected only for cause and then consistent with existing laws.

Legislature

SECTION B
Article 14

Count (9) is amended to read:

(i) That the Parties agree that the Transitional Legislative Assembly shall be a unicameral body composed of 48 members. The Transitional Legislative Assembly is expanded by 13 eminent citizens selected through the Ministry of Internal Affairs from each of the 13 counties, and appointed by the Council of State.

(ii) The Parties further agree that the Transitional Legislative Assembly shall give consideration to providing appropriate benefits for the heads of warring parties.

Article 16 is hereby amended to read:

(2) Is hereby amended to read: That the transitional Government shall have a life-span of approximately 16 months commencing from the date of installation of the five-member Council of State.

(3) Is hereby amended to read: That general and presidential elections shall take place on 10 October 1995, and the newly elected Government shall be installed on the first Monday of 1996.

SECTION H
Article 20

The Parties agree that all provisions of the Cotonou Agreement not amended here are herein incorporated by reference and the same are hereby applicable and remain in full force and effect except for the below listed provisions:

(1) Part I, section A, art. 2

(2) Part I, section B, art. 3, count 3

(3) Section D, article 5 (d)

(4) Part II, section A, article 13

(5) Part 2, section B, articles 14, 4, 6, 7 (i), (ii), (iii), (iv)

DONE AT AKOSOMBO, REPUBLIC OF GHANA, THIS 12TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER 1994

(Signed) Charles G. TAYLOR
Leader
National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)

(Signed) Lt.-Gen. Alhaji G. V. KROMAH
National Chairman
United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)

(Signed) Lt.-Gen. J. Hezekiah BOWEN
Chief of Staff
Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)

WITNESSED BY

(Signed) For H.E. Flt. Lt. J. J. RAWLINGS
President of the Republic of Ghana and Current Chairman of ECOWAS

(Signed) Trevor GORDON-SOMERS
Special Representative of the
United Nations Secretary-General in Liberia

LETTER DATED 5 JANUARY 1995 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF GHANA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

(S/1995/7, 5 January 1995)

Upon instructions of my Government, I transmit herewith, the texts of two documents:

(a) An acceptance and accession agreement (see annex I);

(b) An agreement on the clarification of the Akosombo agreement (S/1994/1174, annex) (see annex II);

both made and entered into at Accra on Wednesday, 21 December 1994, by the warring factions in the Liberian conflict, represented respectively by Mr. François Massaquoi, Lofa Defense Force (LDF); Mr. G. E. Saigbe Boley, Sr., Liberian Peace Council (LPC); Mr. J. Thomas Woewiyu, Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL); Maj. Gen. Roosevelt Johnson, United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO); and Counsellor J. D. Bayogar Junius, Liberia National Conference (LNC); and by Mr. Charles G. Taylor, Leader, National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL); Lt.-Gen. Alhaji G. V. Kromah, National Chairman, (ULIMO); and Lt.-Gen. J. Hezekiah Bowen, Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). The Agreements were attested to by H. E. Flt.-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana and current Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States.

It would be appreciated if you could circulate the present letter and the agreements as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) George O. LAMPTEY
Permanent Representative

Annex I

ACCEPTANCE AND ACCESSION AGREEMENT

This acceptance and accession undertaking made and entered into this twenty-first day of December AD 1994 by the Lofa Defense Force (LDF), represented by Mr. François Massaquoi; the Liberian Peace Council (LPC), represented by Mr. G. E. Saigbe Boley, Sr.; the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL), represented by J. Thomas Woewiyu; the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), represented by Major General Roosevelt Johnson; the Liberia National Conference (LNC), represented by Counsellor J. D. Bayogar Junius, all of whom are hereinafter collectively referred to as the non-signatories to the Akosombo agreement, hereby:

WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS, an agreement, referred to as the "Akosombo agreement", was made and entered into on the twelfth day of September, by and between the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL); the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and ULIMO, in an effort to establish a cease-fire, facilitate disarmament, encampment and demobilization, and pave the way for a free and fair election; and

WHEREAS, the non-signatories to the Akosombo agreement did not participate in the discussions leading to the Akosombo agreement; and

WHEREAS, a need arose for further discussions between the signatories to the Akosombo agreement for clarification and expansion of the provisions therein with a view to facilitating the acceptance and the implementation of the agreement, in which said discussions the non-signatories fully participated; and

WHEREAS, after intense discussions and negotiations between the parties to the Akosombo agreement and the non-signatories thereto, the non-signatories have agreed to accept the terms and conditions of the Akosombo agreement with the clarifications thereto as set forth and contained in the agreement on the clarification of the said Akosombo agreement;

NOW, THEREFORE, the non-signatories to the Akosombo agreement, in consideration of their participation in the discussions on the clarification of the Akosombo agreement, and in further consideration of the political arrangements agreed upon and accepted by them, agree as follows, to wit:

1. That the Lofa Defense Force (LDF), the Liberian Peace Council (LPC) and the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL), in their individual capacities; the LNC, and ULIMO agree to accept and to accede to, and by this document hereby accept and accede to the Akosombo agreement and the agreement on clarification of the aforesaid Akosombo agreement.

2. That the non-signatories commit themselves individually and collectively to the terms and conditions of the Akosombo agreement and the agreement on clarification of the said agreement, and undertake fully to implement and discharge all the tasks and the responsibilities, and to abide by all the terms and conditions as set forth and contained under the said Akosombo agreement, and the agreement on clarification of the said Akosombo agreement, as if they were signatories thereto and/or specifically named therein.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, THE PARTIES HERETO

have hereunto set their hands and affixed their signatures this twenty-first day of December AD 1994 in the City of Accra, Republic of Ghana:

ULIMO
(Signed) Roosevelt JOHNSON
Represented by and through its Chairman
Major General Roosevelt JOHNSON

Lofa Defense Force (LDF)
(Signed) François MASSAQUOI
Represented by and through its Leader,
François MASSAQUOI

Liberian Peace Council (LPC)
(Signed) G. E. SAIGBE BOLEY, SR.
Represented by and through its
Chairman, Mr. G. E. SAIGBE BOLEY, SR.

The Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL)
(Signed) Jucontee Thomas WOEWIYU
Represented by and through its
Chairman, Jucontee Thomas WOEWIYU

Liberia National Conference (LNC)
(Signed) J. D. Bayogar JUNIUS
Represented by and through its Chairman
Counsellor J. D. Bayogar JUNIUS

Attested to:

(Signed) Jerry John RAWLINGS
H.E. Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings
President of the Republic of Ghana
and Current Chairman of ECOWAS

Annex II
AGREEMENT ON THE CLARIFICATION OF THE AKOSOMBO AGREEMENT

This agreement on the clarification of the Akosombo Agreement made this twenty-first day of December AD 1994 is intended to clarify and expand pertinent provisions of the said Akosombo agreement.

SECTION A
Article 1
CEASE-FIRE

The Parties to this agreement hereby declare a cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities effective as of 2359 hours on the twenty-eighth day of December 1994.

SECTION C
Article 4
TERMS AND CONDITIONS
(SAFE HAVENS AND BUFFER ZONES)

Consistent with section C, article 4, count 5, of the Akosombo agreement, the parties agree to facilitate the establishment of safe havens and buffer zones throughout Liberia in accordance with a plan to be drawn up by the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) in collaboration with the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and the Economic Community of West African States Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) in consultation with the parties. In this connection, the deployment of ECOMOG and UNOMIL, the establishment of buffer zones, safe havens and other measures necessary to restore normalcy throughout the territory of Liberia, shall be undertaken in accordance with the Cotonou and Akosombo agreements.

In keeping with section C, article 4, count 6, LNTG shall enter into a status-of-forces agreement with ECOWAS within seven (7) days as of the seating of the Council of State established under this agreement.

SECTION H
Article 9
DEMOBILIZATION

Consistent with section H, article 9, count 4, of the Akosombo agreement it is agreed by the parties that in the reorganization of the Armed Forces of Liberia, the police, immigration and other security agencies, the combatants and non-combatants who satisfy conditions for recruitment shall be considered for inclusion. In this connection, the Council of State established under the Akosombo agreement clarified by this agreement shall establish appropriate committees which will be charged with determining the criteria for recruitment, taking advantage of the relevant expertise of ECOMOG and UNOMIL.

SECTION K
Article 12
SCHEDULE OF IMPLEMENTATION

The parties hereby agree to abide by the schedule of implementation attached hereto and incorporated herein by reference.

Part II
Political Issues
SECTION A
(EXECUTIVE)

Consistent with part II, section A (i), of the Akosombo agreement, the provisions for the function and structure of the five-member Council of State provided for in the

Cotonou and Akosombo agreements are hereby reconfirmed.

The procedure for the appointment of the relevant officials of Government as enshrined in the Akosombo agreement is hereby reaffirmed. Such officials shall be appointed based on merit.

The parties agree that a five-member Council of State shall be established.

The first four members of the new Council of State shall be appointed as follows:

National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) 1

United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) 1

Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)/Coalition 1

Liberia National Conference (LNC) 1

The fifth member of the Council of State shall be a traditional chief selected by NPFL and ULIMO in the person of the Honourable Tamba Tailor in accordance with part II, section A (i), of the Akosombo agreement and agreed by the parties.

Consistent with part II, section A (i), of the Akosombo agreement, induction of the Council of State shall take place in the City of Monrovia under the auspices of the Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) or his designee within fourteen (14) days as of the cease-fire date.

SECTION H
Article 20

Consistent with section H, article 20, of the Akosombo agreement, the parties reaffirm the acceptance of the ECOWAS peace plan, including the Cotonou and Akosombo agreements, as the best framework for peace in Liberia.

All provisions of the Akosombo agreement not herein clarified remain in full force and effect.

DONE AT ACCRA, REPUBLIC OF GHANA, THIS TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF DECEMBER AD 1994

(Signed) Charles G. TAYLOR
Leader
National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)

(Signed) Lt.-Gen. Alhaji G. V. KROMAH
National Chairman
United Liberation Movement of Liberia (ULIMO)

(Signed) Lt.-Gen. J. Hezekiah BOWEN
Chief of Staff
Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)

Attested to:

(Signed) H.E. Flt. Lt. Jerry John RAWLINGS
President of the Republic of Ghana and
Current Chairman of ECOWAS

Attachment

Schedule of implementation of the Akosombo Agreement from cease-fire to elections (28 December 1994 — 14 November 1995)

		Period												
Serial number	Weeks	Dec. 94	Jan. 95	Feb. 95	Mar. 95	Apr. 95	May 95	Jun. 95	Jul. 95	Aug. 95	Sep. 95	Oct. 95	Nov. 95	Dec. 95
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)
1	2	28 ·····	····· 11	Factions inform combatants of cease-fire										
2	3		12 ·····	····· 4	Factions disengage from check points/present combat positions to areas under own arrangements									
3	3		12 ·····	····· 4	Verification by ECOMOG/UNOMIL/LNTG/warring factions									
4	2		21 ·····	····· 7	Reconnaissance mission/build-up of logistics-ECOMOG/UNOMIL/LNTG									
5	10			8 ·····	·····	····· 21	Deployment of ECOMOG/UNOMIL to safe havens throughout the country							
6	4			13 ·····	····· 13	Completion/preparation for new assembly/encampment sites								
7	4				1 ·····	····· 30	Combatants in assembly/encampment sites							
8	8					1 ·····	····· 30	Disarmament/demobilization						
9	9					1 ·····	·····	····· 7	Resettlement/repatriation					
10	Preparations for elections							8 ·····	·····	·····	·····	·····	····· 11	
11												Election day	····· 14	

Notes:

Cease-fire — 2359 hours 28 December 1994 (Midnight 28/29 December 94).
Installation of new Council of State
Election Day — 14 November 1995
Inauguration of new Government — 1 January 1996

UNOMIL DEPLOYMENT
as of April 1995
Mission Headquarters UNOMIL
Regional Headquarters UNOMIL
Airport Team
Seaport Team
Investigation Team
Cantonment Team
The boundaries and names shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.
GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
CÔTE D' IVOIRE
Atlantic Ocean
Western Region
Northern Region
Central Region
Eastern Region
LOFA
GRAND CAPE MOUNT
BOMI
BONG
GBARPOLU
GRAND BASSA
RIVER CESS
NIMBA
SINOE
GRAND GEDEH
GRAND KRU
MARYLAND
Mendekoma
Voinjama
Irié
Kailahun
Pendembu
Vahun
Yeala
Zorzor
Nzérékoré
Yekepa
Sanniquellie
Danané
Pujehun
Kongo
Naama Camp
Gbarnga
Ganta
Lougatou
Sulima
Bo
Tiene
Kle
Lake Piso
Robertsport
Tubmanburg
Bong Town
Butlo
Konola
Kakata
Todee
Toulépleu
Tapeta
Tobli
Towai Town
Cale Town
Monrovia
Sprigg Payne Airport
Roberts Int'l Airport
Schiffelin
Gbs Village
Lac
Zwedru
Dubwe
Tai
Buchanan
Kaobli
Greenville
Kodeke
Nemeke
Bilapo
Grand Cess
Plibo
Ouaté
Tabou
Harper
0 20 40 60 80 km
0 10 20 30 40 50 mi
Map No. 3802 Rev. 10 UNITED NATIONS
April 1995
Department of Public Information
Cartographic Section

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